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Following Killing of an Israeli
Nablus Under Curfew

A curfew was imposed on the city of Nablus, the second largest West Bank city, and the neighbouring refugee camps July 30, after the killing of an Israeli in the centre of the city. Three shops in the vicinity of the killing were closed down indefinitely by the Israeli authorities. The curfew, which was enforced on August 1, was lifted for two hours midday July 31, to allow people to restock their food supplies.

An employee at the military headquarters in the city identified as Albert Bukhris, 32, was shot in the back while shopping in the street of the ironmongers in central Nablus. Despite his wounds, Bukhris managed to drive back to the Israeli military headquarters where he received first aid. He was then flown by helicopter to Tal Hashomer hospital in Tel Aviv, where he later died.

The deceased, an Afula resident, had been running a kiosk outside the local military government headquarters in Nablus. He had taken part in the recent attacks against Arabs in Afula following the killing of two Israeli teachers from the city, three days earlier. He had been detained and released on bail for his part in these attacks, *The Jerusalem Post* reported July 31.

Following the incident, which occurred at midday, large numbers of Israeli soldiers and policemen dispersed themselves throughout the city to enforce the curfew. Shots were heard from different directions, and checkposts were erected at the entrances to Nablus and the neighbouring Balatta and Askar refugee camps. Dozens of Arab residents were reportedly arrested for questioning. An-Najah University was also put under siege and many students were chased and later arrested. Many employees and students were trapped on campus when the curfew went into effect. Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin visited the city and ordered the university shut until further notice.

Hikmat al-Masri, chairman of the Board of Trustees, and other university officials were summoned to the military headquarters where they were told that the university will remain shut as long as the curfew is imposed on the area.

The Israeli army, however, broke into the premises of the university, searched the offices of the student council and confiscated materials prepared for the election campaign which was planned for next week.

Bukhris' death triggered another wave of violence against Arabs in Afula, which has not yet cooled down after Friday's incidents. Jewish crowds demonstrated outside Afula police station and gangs of youths were seen roaming through the town looking for Arabs to attack in revenge.

Demonstrators attacked journalists and accused the media of being partly responsible for the killing of Bukhris whose picture appeared in several newspapers after the Friday anti-Arab riots in the city. Bukhris must have been recognised by the assailant, demonstrators charged.

Abu Ein Detained

Recently released Palestinian prisoner Ziad Abu Ein was rearrested July 31 and held for six months under administrative detention orders.

Mahmoud Abu Ein, Ziad's brother, told *Al Fajr*

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Hospice Hospital Closed by Force

For the second time in a week East Jerusalem went on strike July 29 to protest the closure of Hospice, the only Arab hospital in the Old City of Jerusalem. The hospital was officially closed down under heavy police guard July 29, two days before the scheduled closure date, to pre-empt protest action by angry Arab residents.

The closure triggered worldwide condemnation.

About 100 policemen and border guards carrying semi-automatic rifles and truncheons entered the hospital and blocked off streets at dawn.

The 28 Hospice patients, carrying their personal belongings, were ordered to leave or carried out on stretchers. Twelve of them were transferred by ambulances to Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus. Several women cried as they were taken from the building and about a dozen patients walked home, saying they did not want to go to a Jewish hospital.

Israeli police chief bolting shut the Old City's only hospital./AO

As news of the closure spread, dozens of residents gathered outside the century-old stone building on the Via Dolorosa to protest the Israeli move. A large force of Israeli police, backed by paramilitary border guards, intervened using force to disperse the protestors. Two Jewish sympatisers handed out leaflets on ways to challenge the closure.

At about 10:00 am shopowners in Arab East Jerusalem closed their businesses in a one-day strike to protest the closure. No particular incidents were reported, but tension remained high as soldiers and policemen roamed the streets of the city all day.

Isma'il Tazziz, head of the Hospice Friends Committee said the dawn evacuation took the Hospice staff by surprise. A day of solidarity with the hospital had been planned for July 29, the day the hospital was closed down. Tazziz condemned the closure as "politically motivated" and said it contravened international conventions. Israel's Health Ministry, says the 50-bed hospital in the building owned

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Mobs Attack Arabs in Afula

Israeli residents of Afula in the Galilee went on a rampage July 26, destroying Arab-owned shops and beating up Arab workers after the bodies of two Afula teachers, who disappeared last week, were found in a cave on Mt. Gilboa. Three Palestinian youths from the village of Arbouna in the Jenin district were arrested on suspicion of killing the Israeli teachers and hiding their bodies. Israeli soldiers immediately destroyed the homes of the three suspects' families.

Groups of Jewish youths armed with iron bars, stones, pipes and empty bottles stormed Afula the morning of July 26 and attacked Arabs, their cars and their shops. More than 15 cars were reported smashed and attempts to set others on fire were foiled. Israeli vigilantes stopped public buses and severely beat Arab passengers. Graffiti was sprayed on public walls in the city. During demonstrations which erupted instantly in the city, mobs chanted slogans like "Kahane, Kahane," and "death to Arabs." Hundreds of police reinforcements were called to Afula to quell protesters. Meanwile, Arab shopowners were evacuated out of the city under police escort.

Some of the attacks, according to bystanders, took place while police indifferently looked on. The police reportedly moved to stop the violence at a late stage, and only when it had become widespread.

The Israeli Communist Party newspaper *Al Ittihad* Arabic daily indicated July 27 that some Arabs who were injured during the Israeli rioting were denied medical treatment on the pretext that they had no health insurance.

The next day, however, the city entrances were blocked by police roadblocks and Arabs were not allowed in. Although it was the Jewish weekend holiday, tension was high in the city. At around noon, empty police trucks were parked in front of police headquarters, ready to quell any outbreak of violence. Police patrols dominated the deserted streets and some 30 bor-

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Israelis Demand Deportation, Capital Punishment

by Baher Ashhab

In the wake of the latest incidents of violence against Israelis, the Israeli government is publicly considering applying the death penalty against Arabs convicted of killing Jews in addition to other severe collective punishment measures. These measures have long been demanded by extremist Israeli political movements and settler organisations.

Palestinian figures and legal experts say the discussion of these measures is inciting racism against Arabs. Taking advantage of the killing of two Israeli residents of Afula near Nazareth on July 26, allegedly committed by Arab youths, Israeli extremists and settler groups intensified their longstanding pressure on the government to use an "iron fist" policy on Arabs inside the 'green line' and in the West Bank and Gaza.

In addition to the death penalty, various officials and groups are calling for mass deportations, closure of universities and newspapers, and allowing retaliatory measures by soldiers and settlers against Arab stone-throwers. The death penalty, which was applied only once in Israel — to Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann — is prohibited by international laws on belligerent occupation and has been abolished in most countries. Although it is permitted by Israeli law, it was never applied against Arabs or Israelis.

The Israeli Likud party has come out strongly in favour of the death penalty. Following in the footsteps of former Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who in April 1979 encouraged military prosecutors in the occupied territories to pass death sentences, Minister of Industry and Commerce Ariel Sharon (Likud), Minister without Portfolio Moshe Arens (Likud), MK Rafael Eitan (Tehiya-Tzomet) and other hawks declared their support for the death penalty and stiff punitive measures in the occupied territories. Sharon, who masterminded the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, said at a Likud party meeting July 29 that "it would not be effective to hit the PLO's military arms while pursuing a weak and vacilating policy towards the PLO's political and propaganda arms."

Reiterating settlers' demands to strike at Arab national institutions, Sharon said that "all pro-PLO newspapers and printing houses, and all Arab bookshops that sell hostile material should be closed down, all Arab universities at which the slightest disturbance takes place should be closed, and all student agitators deported." Sharon who was appointed to sit on a 9-member committee set up by the government to decide on the death penalty and other punitive measures, said in the meeting: "It is [these institutions] that encourage local initiatives to commit murders which are no less serious than organised military actions."

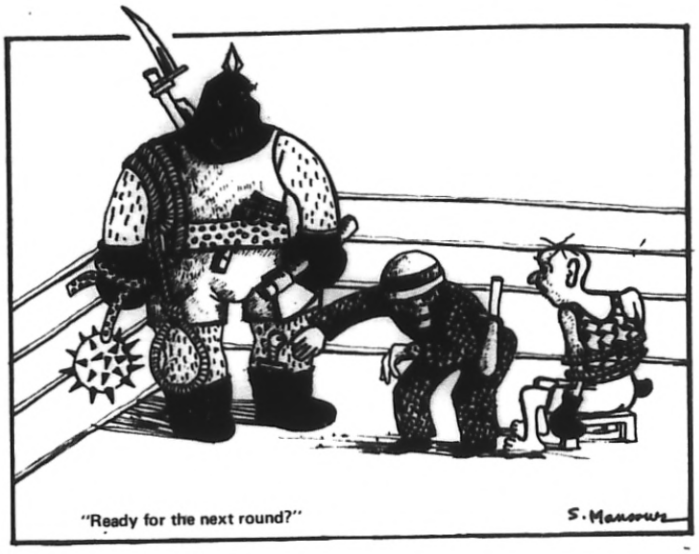
Sharon said that standing orders barring soldiers from opening fire on Palestinian stone-throwers should be revised and that the most effective way to protect soldiers and settlers from stones is to "demolish the entire first row of houses closest to the highway in all refugee camps." The entrances of several Palestinian camps in the West Bank have already been closed off with concrete and barbed wire.

Commenting on such rhetoric, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres (Labour) said at a meeting of the Labour faction the same day that "The Likud is taking advantage of an incident to realise political goals." He accused his coalition partners of "stirring public passions" over the incident in Afula. He blamed their rhetoric for the wave of anti-Arab violence in Afula in which mobs of Israelis attacked and abused scores of Arab workers and shopowners and their property.

Israeli settlers in the occupied territories also declared their support for the death penalty and presented the government with their own set of demands. The settlers, represented by The Regional Council of Jewish Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, sent an 18-point letter to the government demanding the abolition of all charity and national organisations which, they claim, are a framework for PLO activities. They also demanded that Arab newspapers be closed down, university student bodies dispersed and suspected inciters deported immediately. The letter, sent to Likud government members, was made public by Sharon during the Likud faction meeting July 29. Calls for the death penalty have sharply increased after Israel agreed to a prisoner-exchange which freed hundreds of long term prisoners.

The settlers, who have been demanding the immediate release of fellow settlers convicted of belonging to an anti-Arab terrorist organisation, may have found the time ripe to test their influence on the Israeli government. The latest opinion polls show that 70 percent of the Israeli public support the death penalty and settlers' demands.

MK Rafael Eitan, suggested July 31 that Arabs should be collectively punished by "confiscating all the agricultural lands of the killers' home village for the establishment of a Jewish settlement." He said: "If a Nablus man murdered Israelis, the property of all members of the killer's family should be confiscated. If Jewish vehicles were stoned on a highway, that highway should be barred to Arab vehicles." MK Benyamin Ben-Eliezer (Yahad) who served as coordinator of the Defence Ministry's activities in the West Bank until 1984, admitted that collective punishment was never an efficient deterrent to Palestinian resistance saying that "in the past, it was my experience that collective punishment did not work. We put towns under curfew and we closed highways but it did not help." However, he expressed his opinion that "deportation is the best way."



"Ready for the next round?" S. Manour

Less hawkish elements in the Israeli political arena called for restraint. They have been keeping a low profile since the Afula ordeal, however, mainly attacking their factional rivals. Labour Knesset faction head Rafi Edri accused Likud of behaving in a way that contradicts national interests. He added that Likud is "motivated by the fear of MK Meir Kahane (Kach's) (political gains), and is therefore trying to outdo Kahane's extremism." Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres told party colleagues that the Likud party is to blame for the way things have got out of hand. "The Likud behaved like the man who let out the genie. First the Tehiya party tried to master the genie, until it got out of control and went to serve the Kach Party."

Faisal Husseini, head of the Arab Studies Society in Jerusalem which may be targeted for closure if Israeli extremists get their way, told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli political scene has become a wrestling arena as all the parties try to prove themselves more hawkish than the others, and all trying to outdo Kahane. "The Arabs have become the underdogs with all factions struggling to win over the Israeli street by pounding the hardest on the Arabs." The end result, Husseini pointed out, is the growth of extremism and the spread of racial hatred against Arabs.

Ali Ghuzlan, a Jerusalem advocate and secretary of the Committee of Working Arab Lawyers, told *Al Fajr* that the Israelis are well aware of the fact that applying the death penalty violates the Geneva and Hague conventions which forbid even the trial of prisoners of war. He predicted that the Israeli government will shy away from applying such a severe penalty. If they do, Guzlan argued, it would only backfire and instead of deterring attacks on Israelis, it would encourage suicide missions, to prevent being caught, tortured and then hanged.

The Association of Civil Rights in Israel condemned the campaign to activate the death penalty. In a statement issued July 29, the Association said that such a move, which would violate international law, is morally wrong. Association spokesperson Ruth Gavison told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli government would make a grave mistake if it applied the death penalty. She termed the lobbying for such stiff measures "irresponsible political manoeuvering."

Jewish Zealots Compete to Pray in al-Aqsa

Scores of Jewish zealots, some belonging to the racist Kach Movement and others to the ultra religious "Faithful of the Temple Mount" attempted July 28 to enter al-Aqsa compound and pray there. The date according to the Jewish calendar is *Tisha B'Av* when the first and second Jewish temples were destrdyed and the Messiah will one day arrive. Israeli police sent a large unit to the site which barred the Kach group but allowed the second group in on the condition that they not pray. One man defied orders and prayed near the Dome of the Rock. He was forcefully escorted out of the compound.

Police were on hand because they expected the zealots to stage a demonstration to demand the release of Jewish terrorists sentenced July 22 for various anti-Arab crimes, including planning to destroy al-Aqsa Compound.

The Kach group protested police 'discrimination' and, led by their outspoken leader MK Meir Kahane, shouted obscenities at the police and at the "Temple Mount Faithful" group. Muslim worshippers at the compound, the third holiest in Islam, looked on with anger but were unable to protest for fear of Israeli police.

The police drafted an agreement last year with the "Temple Mount Faithful" group according to which they may enter the holy area only to look, not to pray. The group had attempted to enter the compound almost every year since 1967, because according to Jewish tradition, first and second temples were located on the site. They consider themselves the defenders of the Temple Mount until the Messiah arrives.

The Kach movement, on the other hand, challenges this claim and demands to participate in the defence of the holy site.

Kach supporters, mainly teenagers, stood chanting around Kahane as he demanded that police let him and his supporters into the compound all at once. The police would only allow in 10 at a time. Kahane, defeated, left the Old City.

Sad ed-Din Alami, who heads the Islamic *waqf*, told *Al Fajr* that he considered the police decision to prevent the zealots from praying at the Islamic holy site most appropriate. "We will not allow non-Muslims to desecrate the mosques as long as we live," he said. "Anybody is welcome to enter the compound but only Muslims are permitted to pray there."

For the Second Time

Emergency Regulations Used to Close Hakawati for 3 Days

For the second time in one month the Israeli authorities have resorted to the 1945 British Emergency Regulations in order to close East Jerusalem's only theatre and cultural centre, el-Hakawati.

Israeli police and border patrols greeted administrative workers at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati theatre on the morning of July 26 with a three-day closure order signed by the Israeli commander of the central [West Bank] district, Amnon Shahak. The order closed the theatre and its entrances July 26, 27, 28, and specified that they could reopen Monday morning July 29. (Monday is the theatre's weekly holiday). According to the order, the measure was taken for the "safety and security of the state of Israel" and "to prevent a women's organisation from holding a meeting inside." The order asserted that "the women's organisation is a cover for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" and that "it was planning to hold a meeting in opposition to the planned Jordanian-Palestinian talks with the US."

Soldiers and policemen in large numbers stood outside the theatre and prevented anyone from entering the building or the courtyard outside it. A number of women from the Palestinian Women's Committee, who were scheduled to have their annual convention, started to arrive by 10:00 am. After discussion, police allowed only 50 women to reach the courtyard where they held a protest sit-in strike.

Dr. Anis al-Qaq, a Jerusalem dentist and secretary of Hakawati's Board of Trustees, told journalists that the closure order affected a number of the theatre's cultural activities. He said that two performances by a Jerusalem troupe and the graduation ceremony for a private school had to be cancelled due to the closure. "Members of the Jerusalem Arts Company had set up all the stage sets for their play, *The Immigrant*, and had publicised the show. Who will cover these expenses?" he asked.

Al-Qaq protested the authorities' repeated use of the Emergency Regulations and said that they are trying to force the theatre to close down permanently. "We receive no governmental support or subsidy. The only way we can cover our expenses is by renting the hall, which is the only one of its kind in East Jerusalem," he said.

Al-Qaq pointed out that the Israeli authorities are trying to force the theatre administration to act as a self-appointed censor and policeman in rental requests. "We rent our hall to all unions and organisations that apply to us provided they sign a contract specifying that they will act within the confines of the law." Al-Qaq disputed the pretexts for the closure. "If in fact these groups are illegal, why do the authorities allow them to continue to exist?" he asked. He scoffed at the claim that the latest closure was imposed to prevent protest against peaceful dialogue with the Americans. "The women's group had reserved the hall and signed a contract two months ago, long before the latest diplomatic initiatives were made," he said.

The closure order triggered a number of angry protests from Israelis and Arabs. The Israeli Association for Civil Rights in Israel issued a statement protesting the use of emergency regulations and the sudden closure. The Assocation said that it considers the closure a violation of the "right to free expression and the right to free assembly." They criticised the last-minute closure, saying it leaves conference organisers no possibility to find an alternative meeting place.

The Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit and the theatre held a solidarity meeting at the theatre July 30. Over 100 Palestinians and Israelis attended the meeting, which included musical and theatrical skits by Israeli and Palestinian actors. One 12-year-old Israeli girl played a Bach piece on the cello. Palestinian organisations, unions and institutions sent support messages to the meeting. The Haifa theatre, Tel Aviv's Neve Tsedek theatre and Professor Avi Oz from the Drama Department at Tel Aviv University also sent messages of support and solidarity.

Rashid Hassan

Ahmad Masaid

Two Arab Youths Killed in Mysterious Circumstances

Two Arab youths from the town of Toubas, near Jenin, were found dead and charred remnants of their bodies scattered near the settlement of Elon Moreh in the Nablus region July 29.

They were buried the next day, late at night. Residents of the village demonstrated during the funeral and stoned the Israeli police station in the town.

Rashid Hassan 26, a Najah graduate, and Ahmad Masaid, 24, a farmer, were reported missing July 26, when the bodies of two Israeli teachers were found near Afula. They were last seen driving in a white Peugeot towards their hometown from Nablus. Hassan, a chemistry student, graduated from Najah University this year with the highest average in his class. Since graduating, he had worked as an assistant teacher at Najah. He was an only son. The other youth Masaid was a farmer.

Preliminary police investigations indicated that an explosion occurred in the rear of the car.

The Israeli authorities claimed that the youths were concocting a bomb which was inadvertently set off. Arab residents, however, fear the two were killed in revenge for the murder of the two teachers. Sa'eb Erakat, Director of Public Relations at Najah, demanded that an investigation be conducted into the incident. "Indications that the act was premeditated do exist," he told *Al Fajr*. Erakat added that Hassan had been accepted at the University of Jordan to pursue graduate studies.

Al Ittihad Arabic daily expressed the opinion that the current atmosphere of incitement against Arabs was behind the murders. "The murderers were not satisfied with killing but sadistically burned the bodies to cover up their crime," the paper said.

Last year Bilal Najjar, another Najah student, was found dead near the village of Bourin in the Nablus district. Residents blamed the settlers. The results of the police investigation were never disclosed, and the murderer was never found.

PLO Rejects Pro-Jordanian Lobby

Well informed PLO sources in Tunis condemned July 30 the formation of a local committee to lobby for joint Palestinian-Jordanian political moves. The committee, which consists of mostly pro-Jordanian elements from the West Bank and Gaza, was formed three weeks ago.

In a statement issued in Tunis, the PLO denied that it had mandated or authorised any person or group to form such a committee. "This false reporting has an obvious purpose, namely to evoke an atmosphere of confusion and cause a split among Palestinians in the occupied territories," the statement said. It also called on people to stand "united behind the PLO and its legal channels." The statement clarified that "the political principles that the Palestinian people must adhere to are the resolutions of the 16th and 17th sessions of the Palestine National Council (PNC) and the Amman agreement." The statement concluded: "There is no need for any individual or group to start such an initiative since the Palestinian people stand behind the joint Palestinian-Jordanian political moves."

Three weeks ago, the pro-Jordanian figures, including Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, former Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa, deputy speaker of the Jordanian house of Senates Hikmat Masri, and others declared the formation of the committee backing the Palestinian-Jordanian political efforts. The pro-Jordanian figures were dismayed at the exclusion of Shawwa, Freij and Masri from the Palestinian delegation which will meet Richard Murphy, US Undersecretary of State, next month.

Al-Fajr Sets Up Editorial Board

Daoud Kuttab

Daoud Kuttab has been appointed as the new managing editor of *Al Fajr* English Weekly. He replaces Sama'an Khoury who was dismissed after he refused to cooperate with management's request to establish an editorial board to run the paper.

A five-person editorial board headed by Editor-in-Chief Hanna Siniora held its first meeting June 17. The board consists of two permanent members (editor-in-chief and managing editor) and three elected members from the staff. News editor Sami Aboudi, Production manager Taher Jaber and reporter Maher Abukhater were elected to represent their colleagues on the editorial board. Kuttab, 30, a Jerusalemite and holder of a BA degree in Business from a US College has been with the English language paper since its start in 1980.

Khoury gave the following comment on the reason of his dismissal: "I believe that a Palestinian newspaper directed to the international audience should reflect all progressive lines of opinion in the occupied territories. However the owners believe that the newspaper, as well as the people who work for it, should reflect only their particular opinion. Of course, the issue of an editorial board was manufactured to cover these political motivations behind my dismissal."

In Issawiyeh

Water Cut off to Force Tax Payment

The municipality of Jerusalem cut off the water supply from a number of houses in Isawiyya village east of the city in early July on the pretext that residents have not paid their municipality tax known as *arnona*. A number of municipality employees accompanied by three armed borderpolice carried out the order.

Residents are shocked by this action because dozens of families, including many young children, are badly affected by it. The hot summer is making this unbearable situation worse.

Jihad, the wife of Jamil Abu al-Humus who owns one of the affected houses, told *Al Fajr* that they received an *arnona* bill totalling nearly nine million shekels (US$7500) for two small vegetable and grocery shops her husband owned for two years in 1973. Jihad says that the amount has been reduced to nearly two million shekels on one of the shops but that the second is still under discussion.

Jihad, a mother of 10, says that the municipality has been increasing the tax on her husband over the past few years although he notified them of the shops' closure. Jihad said that her husband has been unemployed for a long time, and that life is becoming unbearable without a water supply. The authorities have strictly forbidden neighbours to supply any of the houses in question with municipality water. The waterless families are now forced to bring water from distant wells. Located on Mount Scopus near Hebrew University and the 'French Hill,' Isawiyya was annexed to Israel shortly after the June 1967 war at the same time as the Arab part of Jerusalem. The *arnona* tax was linked to water bills in 1982 so that residents were obliged to pay it.

World Women at Nairobi: *Despite US and Israeli pressure, they stood firm by Palestinian women's rights.*

Palestinians, Israælis Claim Victory at Nairobi

The United Nations Decade for Women Conference at Nairobi ended July 26 with both Palestinian and Israeli delegates claiming victory to their causes and the US delegation accusing the Europeans of not offering support to Israel at this conference which convened July 9 to discuss conditions of world women ten years after the first conference in Mexico city.

The Palestinian delegation whose members to the Non-governmental forum came from the occupied territories and several Arab countries, and to the Governmental forum from various PLO organs, was overwhelmed by the support it received from third world, eastern bloc and some European countries who together blocked Israeli and US efforts to prevent the discussion of the conditions of Palestinian women under occupation.

A majority of 97 country delegates voted in favour of adopting a paragraph in the concluding document condemning Israeli practices against women in the occupied territories and calling for financial and moral support for them. With only the US, Israel and Australia voting against, the result was enthusiastically cheered by the Palestinian and third world countries.

In this concluding document, which was drafted by world delegates on the last day and carried guidelines for ways of giving women the tools to achieve development, equality and peace, the PLO and supporting delegates agreed to compromise on the issue of "Zionism equals Racism" which they had previously demanded to be included in the document. Instead, a condemnation of "all forms of racism" was included. The compromise, reached in an attempt to avoid a walkout by US delegates which would have hampered the spirit of the conference, was claimed as a triumph to Israel and Zionism by the Israeli government delegation.

The PLO delegation on the other hand seemed content with the concluding condemnation since Zionism was previously designated along with apartheid and neo-colonialism as a form of racism at the 1975 Mexico Conference. Sub-forums and workshops in which Palestinian women lectured were reported to be packed with women delegates after which they indicated their sympathy and solidarity with the Palestinian women. The PLO delegation to the Governmental forum was received with much enthusiasm, to the shock and dismay of the Israeli delegation. Israeli delegate Ivria Levine told a news conference upon her return to Israel that although she had expected some support for the PLO at the conference she had not expected it to be so overwhelming. She was quoted as saying: "What we were not prepared for was the thunderous enthusiasm the PLO received."

Palestinian delegate to the NGO from the West Bank Amal Nashashibi told *Al Fajr* that despite some differences of opinion and strategy among Palestinian women due to factional disagreements and among some Arab women because of political disunity on the part of their government, they all united in the face of intensive Israeli and US counterlobbying. Nashashibi complained that the US had pressured the Kenyan authorities to harass Palestinian delegates, whereas "Kenyan police confiscated several leaflets we intended to distribute and attempted to limit political discussions with other delegations. We felt there was a conspiracy at a high level between US and Kenyan authorities," she said.

Upon returning to the US, American delegation head Maureen Reagan condemned the European delegations for their "lack of public support for the US and Israel at Nairobi." Reagan, who happens to be the daughter of US President Ronald Reagan, told reporters in Washington DC July 31 that "the Western Europeans, by and large, let us carry the ball a great many times when it would have been nice if they had joined us." In the early morning of the last day of the conference the US government sent letters to its delegation and to European and several other pro-Western delegates saying that "the US cannot accept any reference to Zionism (in the final document), considering it intolerable and contrary to the purposes and principles of the conference. The US will oppose this reference absolutely and, if passed, it will walk out of the conference immediately." The letters also urged recipients to walk out.

The PLO and other delegates later agreed to exchange the word Zionism with "all forms of racism," for the sake of compromise. The final document also condemned the role of apartheid in South Africa and called for sanctions to which only the US opposed. Furthermore it called for establishing a new economic world order again with the sole objection coming from the US. Other topics included ways of achieving legal and social rights for women all over the world.

Arab Local Councils Strike August 1

Arab local councils in Israel and their employees went ahead with protest measures against the Israeli government's failure to address their financial demands. The measures, adopted at a rally in Shafa Amr July 13, were initiated by a one-day warning strike August 1 and a rally in front of the Israeli Knesset August 4. Other steps are also under consideration.

Services were at a halt August 1 as employees of most local councils stayed home and offices were closed.

Al Fajr reported two weeks ago that the Arab local councils, have grown increasingly resentful of government indifference about their financial crisis and other pressing problems and have united to demand immediate government action. This unity, shown during a rally organised by the councils in Shafa Amr July 13, was reaffirmed July 27 during a three-and-a-half hour meeting in Shafa Amr after which participants announced they would take joint protest action. "If the Israeli government does not respond to our just demands after the strike and the rally next week, we will consider further measures," the participants said.

The budget the government allocates to Arab communities is only 30-50 percent of what Jewish cities and towns get. Moreover, *Al Fajr* was told, devaluation and inflation have eroded the value of the budget to the extent that most local councils have 10 percent less cash this year than over 1984. Lack of funds has meant the councils were unable to pay their employees, maintain existing services or upgrade services in the comparatively underdeveloped Arab towns and villages.

The Arab local councils are also demanding that property tax laws be revised and demolition orders for over 7000 houses built without permits be revoked.

Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, head of both the Shafa Amr council and the Regional Committee of Arab Local Councils, told *Al Fajr* that the protest actions are a last resort. The council's initiated several efforts to solve their problems through negotiations. They have sent dozens of cables and letter to Israeli government officials requesting a response to the critical situation but all were ignored, Hussein said.

Arab Summit Planned Amidst Controversy

An extraordinary session of the Arab Summit conference is to be held in al-Dar al-Bida (Casablanca) in Morocco on August 7, King Hassan of Morocco declared in a press conference last week. By press time, the PLO and 10 Arab countries had confirmed their intentions to attend the session. Syria, Lebanon, South Yemen, Libya and Algeria have refused to attend. Palestinian factions opposing the official leadership of the PLO have also voiced their rejection of the Arab Summit.

The goal of this extraordinary session were kept vague. Hassan only said that the Palestinian issue and reviving Arab solidarity were the main topics on the agenda. The situations in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and that of the occupied territories were, however, stated by Palestinian officials as additional points on the agenda.

The conference is considered by the opposition as an attempt to provide Arab cover for the Amman agreement, signed between Yasir Arafat and King Hussein on February 11 and to find a common formula between the Arab resolutions of Fez and the Reagan plan which has been widely condemned by Palestinians. Supporters of the Arab Summit noted its importance to unify the Arab word. The Tunisian daily *La Press* wrote: "It is not important what decisions will be taken at the Summit but the fact that Arab leaders will meet after years of absence."

In the occupied territories, *Al Fajr*, *Al Sha'ab*, and *Al Quds* dailies voiced their support of the Arab Summit meeting, while *Al Mithaq* daily and *Al Tali'a* weekly opposed the meeting.

Abu Ein

Continued from page 1

that the military governor in Ramallah summoned Ziad for questioning. Later, Israeli military officials informed the family that Abu Ein would be held under arrest for three days. No reason for the arrest was provided at the time. Mahmoud Abu Ein said that the family feared the authorities would deport Ziad in order to placate angry Israelis. "Ziad's name became well-known because of his extradition by Israel from the US. His arrest and possible deportation will certainly please Israeli extremists."

An Israeli army spokesperson told *Al Fajr* that Abu Ein is placed under a six month administrative detention order. The spokesperson claimed that the order is "in accordance of the fourth Geneva Convention and with existing Jordanian law."

Abu Ein declared a hunger strike in his solitary confinement at Hebron's prison.

The Dawn
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The Real 'Genie'

The killing of two teachers from the Afula area last week has burst open the anti-Arab hatred among the Israeli people. Responding to various reports in the Israeli press accusing and convicting Arabs of the murder even before any suspects were caught, Israelis hit the streets of Afula looking for Arabs to beat up.

The Afula riot, which included journalists among its victims, is not an isolated incident. It is matched in the scorching statements by Jewish settlers, Knesset members, and cabinet ministers in a macabre competition. A veritable chorus of calls for closing Palestinian universities, expelling the Arabs, and introducing the death penalty for 'terrorists' can be heard from every part of Israel.

The generalisation of culpability for a crime committed by one individual to the entire Arab population is nothing new in Israel. But this time, the ominous groundswell of 'Kahane, Kahane,' – the pictures of raised fists, the unrestricted rampage of violence, and the almost palpable hatred in the air have reached frightening new peaks from which a return to order may no longer be possible.

Apparently recognising this fact, Prime Minister Peres was quick to blame Likud for "letting the genie out of the box" during its rule. "You lost to the Tehiya party and now both of you have lost to Kahane," he said. Likudniks fired back recalling the Labour party's record. Liberal Israelis blame Kahane for his racist incitement, and Kahane and the settlers blame the security forces for being too lax in the territories.

None of these accusations are correct. The real 'genie,' never 'hidden,' is the military occupation. Every Zionist party in Israel has responsibility for the protracted occupation, although Labour has the lion's share. No amount of punishment – whether detentions, demolitions, deportations or death sentences – can solve the problem. As long as the Palestinians are not allowed to choose their own fate and be free of Israeli rule, violence and chauvinism will worsen.

Until now Palestinians have responded to the present Israeli wave by extending the olive branch of peace. If this Palestinian gesture is rebuffed, the cycle of violence, chauvinism and hatred will reach unimaginable levels. No one knows where it will end, but it is certain that everyone will suffer.

The choice is simple.

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IN THE CASE OF SULEIMAN BASHIR

A Palestinian Response to Israeli Incitement

by Sami al-Aboudi

The Israeli press, including the state-run TV (Arabic and Hebrew programmes), the Hebrew newspapers and the English language daily *The Jerusalem Post* gave extensive coverage to a controversial book about the origins and history of Islam written by a local Palestinian scholar from the Galilee. Unfortunately, the scholar, Dr. Suleiman Bashir, was made to resign his post as Vice President of Najah University in Nablus because of the book which contradicted fundamental Islamic beliefs.

At first glance, it may appear as if the Israeli media is concerned with academic freedom in the occupied territories. Closer examination, however, shows that the Israeli media might be exploiting an internal Palestinian controversy for its own purposes.

On the other hand, Dr. Bashir is also to blame for willingly providing the media with ammunition to attack Palestinian universities and allowing his frustrated attack on Najah University and other higher education institutions to fuel the unceasing Israeli attack on Palestinian universities. Bashir's abrupt and unfounded dismissal apparently blinded him to the point where he became unable to differentiate between the board of trustees which fired him and the rest of the university, students and faculty alike, who did not have anything to do with his dismissal.

With Bashir's acquiescence, the Israeli media used his case to justify the authorities' repressive practices against institutions of higher education. One such article appeared in *The Jerusalem Post's* Weekly Magazine July 12 and was written by David Richardson. Richardson leads his readers to conclude that Najah University does not deserve the academic freedom it repeatedly pleaded for because it fired Bashir for his academic work. Both Bashir and Richardson, however, seem to have forgotten that it was the university board of trustees which fired Bashir and that Bashir's quick attack launched via the Israeli press was what stopped the rest of the university from condemning Bashir's dismissal.

The *Post's* one-and-a-half page article, entitled "The Scholar as a Heretic," – which was fully endorsed by Bashir – carries a number of subtly misleading facts, analogies, and conclusions. The writer starts off by portraying a purely academic and scholarly controversy as an ethnic and political one. The article insinuates that Bashir was attacked because he is an Israeli citizen, paints a picture of a conflict between progressive Israeli ingenuity vs primitive Palestinian backwardness. In more than one place, Richardson stresses the encouragement and help Bashir received from Israeli scholars and stops just short of labelling the work 'Israeli' by pointing out that Bashir is an 'Israeli Druze' rather than a Palestinian Arab, or by naming Israeli scholars and scientists who supported Bashir's theories or encouraged his research. For instance, he notes that Professor Moshe Sharon of the Hebrew University "enthusiastically embraced it [the book]." He, however, does not mention that Sharon, an Arabist, is reputed for his anti-Arab policies when he served as adviser to former Prime Minister Menachem Begin. An article Sharon wrote for *The Jerusalem Post*, in which he urged that Arab tourist guides be silenced in order to stop their influence on foreign tourists, is well-remembered.

The article further exaggerates the conditions Bashir now lives under and tries to give the reader the impression that he is under constant physical threat by emphasising that Bashir's house is equipped with a steel door. He neglects to mention that almost all homes in the occupied territories have steel doors and window bars, given the lax local security that leads to widespread robberies and thefts. If there really was any threat to Bashir's family, it would come from Muslim fundamentalists, the same group Israel has clandestinely supported in the past.

Richardson does not forget to warn other "Israeli Druze" from trying their luck in the West Bank. He tries to erect a permanent barrier between Palestinians inside Israel and in the West Bank by saying that the former do not belong in the occupied territories. Perhaps the hidden message is that "Israeli Druze" can only be Israeli border policemen or government employees in the West Bank, not academicians or educators.

There is no question that Najah University erred when it decided to fire Bashir for his book. Fellow professors were late in realising that Bashir can only be challenged, if he is to be challenged, through a counterscholarly work. The firing, nevertheless, was the decision of the university administration which was pressured by certain fundamentalist groups, while the bulk of the university objected to the dismissal and were preparing petitions expressing their view.

It was Bashir's way of handling the case that discouraged people from standing up for him. First, he immediately accepted the firing by agreeing to take his compensations and resign quietly. It was only *after* he took his compensation that he started to make a fuss. Furthermore, he turned many friends and sympathisers to enemies when he launched bitter attacks against Palestinian universities in the Israeli media. Palestinian intellectuals were particularly dismayed at Bashir's depiction of local universities as "political hounds for the PLO," an accusation which the Israelis have been using to interfere in higher education.

Furthermore, Bashir's chameleon-like shifts from one political ideology to the next and his rigid way of dealing with people left him with very few friends who were ready to defend him. However, Bashir's work was and still is appreciated in the occupied territories, especially among intellectuals. And it is those Palestinian intellectuals who should take up the battle against Najah's administration, not the Israeli media. In fact, the replies by two Najah University lecturers in *Al Quds* Arabic daily last week, though they came a little late, represent the correct method of reply to controversial research works.

By the same token, Bashir should have taken his campaign to the Palestinian media instead of giving the Israelis cheap accusations with which to incite a public that is already only a hair's breadth away from demanding the permanent closure of all Palestinian universities. As Najah should not have to pay for a mistake made by its board of trustees, so the entire university community in the occupied territories should not have to pay for Najah's mistake. Most of all, Palestinian students should not be denied the opportunity to learn because of one man's bitter desire for revenge. ■

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

LETTERS

Facts and Fiction in Nairobi

To the Editor,

On July 15, a report from the Nairobi Women's Conference appeared on page 4 of *The Jerusalem Post. The Post's* correspondent, Joanna Yehiel, was dismayed at the volume of anti-Zionist sentiment that was expressed at an unofficial event called the "Peace Tent."

According to Ms Yehiel, "the Palestinian contingent" was "a beautifully prepared, well-briefed lot... with 'facts' at their fingertips." Ms Yehiel implies by the use of quotation marks that the 'facts' were untrue, but as she does not attempt to refute any of the said 'facts,' it is difficult for the reader to form a judgment based on the article.

The 'facts' and opinions put forth by the "Palestinian" side, according to Ms Yehiel, are the following: first, Palestinian Fawsi Hasana "tells of strip searches, no services for women, no way of getting abortions, displacement of Arabs from their farms, universities closed." Then Jewish American Selma James says:

> We (presumably the Jews) want a place that we can run to, but we are not the only people that wants a place to run to. The whole world's running, because we are all threatened with one concentration camp or another.
>
> But more important than that is the fact that the Israeli government has used our deep feelings of fear, our feelings of sorrow — my father's family died in a concentration camp in Poland — as an excuse for treating other people (Palestinians) in the way that we (the Jews) have been treated. . . .
>
> ...I am speaking as a Jew who is very concerned about the treatment of women, and I want to say this: It is no excuse to invade and bomb. Arab women are not being treated well.
>
> Since the occupation of Arab land, the exploitation of Arab women has multiplied many times over.

Next, the Israeli Zippora, a member of Rakah: "Her line — we must struggle for peace and first of all recognise the rights of Palestinian women to their own state."

Several Arab speakers from various countries follow, but Ms Yehiel does not tell us what they say, preferring apparently to leave that to our imaginations. She complains that the rule limiting each country to one speaker favours the Arab side.

Ms Yehiel concludes from all this that "We (were) children (sic) in a well-orchestrated theatre directed at the destruction of the right of Jews to live in the State of Israel." This may have been the case (though I doubt it), but the conclusion does not follow from anything that appears in Ms Yehiel's report.

For the "Israeli" side, former US Congresswoman Bella Abzug counters that the Zionist movement means a place to go to in order not to be discriminated against. Zionism is a liberation movement, part of the right of people everywhere to self-determination.

> ...Do not imitate what the male governments are perpetuating, fighting, struggle — we as women must be examples and show that we can get together in dialogue.

In other words, if you are not willing to turn a blind eye to Israel's discrimination against Arabs and occupation of Arab lands, then you are not sincere in your commitment to self-determination, international feminine solidarity, dialogue, and peace.

Ms Yehiel and other Israelis end up leaving the meeting feeling "weary, depressed, betrayed by women, our sisters." This caused me to wonder: under what circumstances would Ms Yehiel not have emerged "weary, depressed," etc. If there had not been a peep of protest at Israel's invasion of Lebanon, at its bombardment of refugee camps, at its creeping annexation of the occupied territories (policies which adversely affect the entire Palestinian population, including its female half); if no one had expressed any dismay at the (male) Israeli authorities' denial of exit permits to eight Palestinian women's representatives; if the rule of "one speaker from each country" had been waived in Israel's unique case, then perhaps Ms Yehiel would have emerged from the "Peace Tent" bathed in a warm glow of sisterhood, and Ms Abzug would have been satisfied that women were not imitating the obnoxious behaviour of male governments. As it is, it is very difficult to avoid coming to the conclusion that what really "depresses" Ms Yehiel is her fellow women's unwillingness to ignore the plight of their Palestinian sisters.

Ms Yehiel raises the interesting case of an Ethiopian woman who apparently had difficulty finding an audience for her urgent appeal in the name of her country: "No one listens. Famine, death and despair in Africa are unimportant beside the urgency of the Palestinian struggle." Perhaps Ms Yehiel makes a valid point here, but unless she takes her own government to task for its transparent attempt to manipulate the conference by restricting Palestinian participation, she is in no position to criticise the other participants on grounds of hypocrisy.

I was forced to conclude that Ms Yehiel's various complaints about the meeting — especially her hysterical ranting about "the destruction of the right of Jews to live in the State of Israel" — were motivated by a desire to deflect legitimate criticism from the (male) government of her country.

Mark Marshall
Bir Zeit University
(McGill University, Montreal, Canada)

Nairobi: Women's Tent of Peace turns into battle ground

By JOANNA YEHIEL
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NAIROBI — The mental focus of the international women's conference now in Nairobi is the Peace Tent, a place where women of the world can meet in peace and harmony, to talk, to feel understood. On Friday morning, the second day of the Forum, the unofficial state of the UN conference marking the end of the Decade for Women holds a "dialogue" between Israeli and Palestinian women. The tent is full to overflow-

"Women of every kind seems to me, I feel at home. The four guys are introduced. First, Fawsi Hasana, a Palestinian lecturer at Bir Zeit College, the Hebrew University professor, third, Zionist philosopher, an American Jew. Fourth, added at the last moment, a native U.S. Jewish woman, Selma James.

I raise my eyebrows at the Israeli men to see how many in Nairobi have dare the audience that when the speakers are completed an hour-long session will be held in the format of Israeli — Palestinian — is that fair? But things are not what they seem.

Hasana, wearing a short, stylish, fashionable European dress of a woman living under harsh conditions, first [illegible] of the life of any Palestinian, an invitation for [illegible] to [illegible] of political prisoners, disappearances of women [illegible] universities closed.

Quite suddenly, I am relieved. It hasn't been so very bad — at least so far.

Quite soon, in her quiet way, given the Israeli audience. "I represent Peace Now, which is an Israeli peace movement which believes that the Jews also have a right to self-determination, to return, to set up a state of their own. But it is a movement which also believes that this does not have to be at the expense of another people.

"We believe that we live in a land called the land of Palestine where there are two peoples, the Palestinians and the Jews. We each have rights, we each have rights, we each have a history.

"We feel that the only answer is partition. We call on our own government, we call upon the Palestinians, to come into negotiations, to end the armed struggle, to sit down and talk.

"As women, we have many things to do which are not usually being done because of our struggle for peace, for self-determination. I believe that women can live in peace, that women are powerful, are long-suffering."

The third speaker, Metzger, gives a speech so airy that no one understands it, except that it is vaguely about peace.

Then, in last-minute speaker (brought in by the Egyptians), it becomes afternoon's joke is billed to arrive from Jaw, now living in the UK, Selma James.

"We have a right to be here, just as we are not the only people who want a place to run to. The whole world's running, because we are all threatened with one concentration camp or another.

"But more important than that is the fact that the Israeli government has used our deep feelings of fear, our feelings of sorrow — my father's family died in the concentration camps of Poland — as an excuse for treating other people (Palestinians) in the way that we (the Jews) have been treated. . . .

"I am speaking as a Jew who is very concerned about the treatment of women, and I want to say this: It is no excuse to invade and bomb. Arab women are not being treated well.

"Since the occupation of Arab land, the exploitation of women has multiplied many times over."

Women from the audience then get the floor. First is Zippora, a Rakah member of Knesset.

Zippora, a Haifa teacher, is a member of the Israeli Committee for Peace and Equality — Rakah. Her line — we must struggle for peace and first of all recognise the rights of Palestinian women to their own state," Zippora.

Arab women speak next: from Lebanon, from Jordan, from the PLO from Nazareth. I find I am sitting in the centre of the Palestinian contingent and a beautifully [illegible] self-briefed lot they are with facts at their fingertips and an unlimited right of speech.

Then one speaker from each country" is the rule in this "Peace Tent" dialogue — which means only one Israeli and representative Arab women from a number of Arab countries will remain in every workshop and event in the conference.

Yvonne Hasan of Peace Now, an Arabic expert at the Hebrew University and president of the Israeli women's organisation, is upset. Selma James is in Oxford. Hasana ignores the rule. We must talk what we have in common as women. We are in a common struggle for peace — [illegible] everywhere to self-determination.

Zionist movement means [illegible] follows.

Then Gail for former U.S. congresswoman Bella Abzug, a professional politician, who speaks as a feminist and Jew, and tells the audience that she has come to the conference because it gives to go to in order not to be discriminated against. Zionism is a liberation movement, part of the right of people everywhere to self-determination.

"Do not" she tells the women, "do not imitate what the male governments are perpetuating, fighting, struggle — we as women must be examples and show that we can get together in dialogue."

But that is ignored. The anti-Israel forces are clear. The Jew Jews and Israelis are accused, insulted, and. We are children in a well-orchestrated theatre directed at the destruction of the right of Jews to live in the State of Israel.

Acted all this, a tiny Ethiopian woman makes a plea for help. "My country is at war, my children are dying. Please women for peace help us to get peace for my country."

No one listens. Famine, death and despair in Africa are unimportant beside the urgency of the Palestinian struggle.

There are Israeli women still at last, starting to speak. But at the end of the day, a dozen Israeli women (later I learned she is a Soviet immigrant) signals to the chairwoman — "Cut, enough." The session ends without the Israelis speaking.

The same out of the Peace Tent, as full end of the dialogue" [illegible] distressed, betrayed by women, our sisters.

We had not expected this, not to this degree. With all that happened in Mexico, in Copenhagen, in Vienna, at the various UN meetings throughout the Decade of Women, we had at least expected the odds to be [illegible] — even if they weren't [illegible] — even if they weren't [illegible] and [illegible] had [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Local Palestinians Weigh PLO-Jordanian Political Moves

by Khalil Touma

The Amman agreement signed by PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein last February 11 marked the climax of an era of total Palestinian disarray. Ever since the departure from Beirut at the end of 1982, the Palestinians have been engaged in hot discussion, arguments, and splits over the new political path the official leadership of the PLO has taken.

The Amman agreement was so controversial because it established the foundation for cooperation with the same Jordanian regime that kept an iron grip over the West Bank from 1948-1967 and expelled the PLO during the 'Black September' upheaval in 1970. Many Palestinians feared that the agreement was the first step towards throwing away all the independence the Palestinians had worked so hard to achieve, particularly in light of the clause which called for "the formation of the proposed confederated Arab states of Jordan and Palestine."

Another heatedly disputed provision was contained in the clause calling for a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to represent the two parties at an international conference, which generated fears that Hussein was trying to replace the PLO as the Palestinians' representative. Yet despite the controversy, the PLO's Executive Committee approved the Palestinian-Jordanian initiative on February 19.

Supporters of Jordan and Arafat look at coordination between PLO leaders and Jordan as an indispensible necessity stemming from the historic relations between the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples. Such coordination does not contradict the basic principles set down by the Palestine National Council (PNC), they argue. Those who reject the coordination deem it a historical mistake, a ploy orchestrated by Jordan to undermine the legitimacy of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Opponents fear that the current split among Palestinians is being exploited to bring about a *pax Americana* on Israeli terms and to bolster American hegemony over the region. Supporters, by contrast, defend the Jordanian-Palestinian coordination, particularly the idea of joint dialogue with the US, as a clever new way to penetrate the American fortress which has always been dominated by Israel and its allies.

Three weeks ago the first tangible result of the Amman agreement appeared when names of Palestinian candidates to participate in the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to meet with the US administration were made public.

Preparation for talks between US officials and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation still has a long way to go. Many barriers have to be overcome and conditions set by the US have to be met before the planned meeting with US Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs Richard Murphy takes place.

To survey various points of view on the joint delegation and on the new strategy in general, *Al Fajr* spoke to a number of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip who represent a wide range of the political spectrum. Although all have the same ultimate goal — liberation and self-determination for the Palestinian people — they have different ideas on the optimum way to reach that goal. Their assessment of strategies leads them to different conclusions about the nature of the initiative, the motives behind it, its feasibility, and its timing. The core issue of dispute is whether or not unity among Palestinian ranks is an indispensible prerequisite for any political initiative.

Unity Above All Else?

One week before the names of Palestinians in the joint delegation were announced, the central committee of Fatah, the largest Palestinian faction, declared an eight-point initiative to restore unity talks with other factions. The initiative reiterated a number of the basic Palestinian principles stressing that representation of the Palestinian people cannot be delegated to any party other than the PLO itself. However, the unity proposal was sceptically received, particularlyby those who oppose the Fatah approach. When the names of members in the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation were announced a week later, opponents depicted the unity call as a cover for a new step forward on the same political path which enhanced the split. For example, the Palestinian Communist party indicated in *Al Ittihad* Arabic daily that announcing the members of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation effectively exploded the unity initiative.

Saeb Erakat, Public Relations Director at Najah University, thinks that the unity initiative should have been given more time before any new political move: "Our authenticity as Palestinians can only be achieved through the PLO. There ought to be a strategic programme, and we cannot ignore the existing splits." Hence, according to Erakat, the timing of the Palestinian-Jordanian initiative is off. "Two very important elements are missing," he says, "a united Arab strategy and Palestinian unity."

A similar view on the timing of the "peace process" was published in the new *Al Mawqif* Arabic daily by Ramallah dentist Azmi Shu'aybi. "[Launching] the peace process in the shadow of the present Palestinian split, lack of minimum Arab militant solidarity, and the preoccupation of Arab nations with inter-Arab conflicts, is a mere surrenderist operation and capitulation to the Israeli conditions," he wrote.

Mustafa Natsheh, the elected deputy mayor of Hebron, agrees that "our position would have been much stronger if we were united," but adds that the Palestinian people has passed through many phases of both strength and weakness without ceding its rights. Natsheh, a longtime supporter of coordination with Jordan, backs the joint delegation and the political direction taken by the official leadership of the PLO. He thinks that in the wake of the developments in Lebanon — cutting off military action from the Beka'a Valley and Syrian support for the "dissidents" of the PLO — the organisation found itself compelled to try all possible avenues. By closing the door on the PLO, the Syrian regime pushed it the other way. "We cannot ignore the fraternal relations existing between the Jordanian and the Palestinian peoples, and the Palestinians are better off in Jordan than in any other country. The rocky relations of the past are just a misunderstanding that may occur among brothers," he says.

"Coordination with Jordan is a practical step to get the Palestinian case out of the deep freeze, and US acceptance to meet with the delegation is a gain, because it is a preliminary step to recognising the PLO," Natsheh added.

Motives

The suffering of the Palestinian people under occupation, confiscation of Arab land, and the impact of post-1982 events on the whole Palestinian people are widely cited as reasonable motives for Fatah leadership to switch coordination with Jordan as expressed by Mohammed Milhem, deposed mayor of Halhoul and member of the PLO Executive Committee. In an interview published in *Al Fajr* July 5, he said, "[Out of the agreement], I can get only good relations with the Jordanian government and the people of Jordan to justify my presence here, very logically, very reasonably in a very coordinated way where I can be among people very close to the occupied territories."

This, however, raises many questions about the freedom of movement offered to the PLO under the circumstances. Mohammed al-Radwan, a veteran Gaza journalist, believes the PLO has put itself under town arrest in Amman. The alternative, he says, is for the PLO to enhance its adherence to its people and to the principles it adopted. "We are not against coordination," he says. "But it should be done within the context of our strategy as set out in the national covenant. Now we are far away from the spirit of the covenant, because this political movement has contradicted the right of the PLO to be the sole representative of its people. The PLO has moved from the natural position of the Palestinian struggle to an awkward and strange one."

Abdel Latif Gheth, a sports teacher at Dar al-Tifl high school and an ex-prisoner, argues that the PLO is not obliged to follow such a route. Gheth says, "The solution is to stick to the Palestinian basic principles agreed upon through struggle and sacrifice. Every revolution may be subjected to crises and obstacles. There may be ups and downs, but the final result is victory and progress." The role of the leadership, adds Gheth "is to keep up the morale of the people; not to make them depair by frustrating practices. Our present situation is no worse than it was in the 1960s and 1970s, so why despair?"

Erakat, on the other hand, emphasises that political action at this most difficult and critical stage should not be underestimated. "Palestinian dialogue with any side is required. Holding talks with the US is a gain to our case, but it should be based on our basic principles," he said. Erakat however, admits that as a result of Arab differences, the Palestinian side is pushed to a move which is not in its favour.

A more radical explanation of the new political trend based on class analysis is expressed by Fadel Burno, a laboratory technician from Gaza. He argues that the reactionary Arab regimes had long planned to get rid of the PLO because it represents a pattern of struggle for the Arab peoples. However, he believes, the regimes could not achieve that by force due to the massive popular solidarity with the PLO. So they tried another way — flooding the organisation with huge amounts of money, which led to the creation of a bureaucratic apparatus within the PLO that enhanced its dependence on money from Arab oil countries. This presented new problems because the bureaucratic apparatus turned into a nucleus of counterrevolution, deterring the progress and promotion of the organisation and linking it to the Palestinian bourgeois everywhere, which provided the social basis for the American solution.

Yusra Barbari, head of the Palestinian Women's Union in Gaza for 20 years, thinks that the main issue is not who the Palestinian delegates are. It is the principle, she argues, which counts. Barbari, who was a member of the Palestinian delegation the late Ahmad Shukairi led to the UN in 1963, says: "I don't believe in any talks with the US as long as we are weak. Vietnam is a good exampe. I am against the principle of

Continued on page 15

Deposed Deputy Mayor of Hebron Mustafa Natsheh(left) meets *Al Fajr* Editor Hanna Siniora: ***Will the political approach change the American attitude towards the Palestinian problem?*/B. Neumann photo.**

Czar of 'Samaria' Settlements

by Baher Ashhab

You must drive out all the inhabitants of the land as you advance, and settle there. For to you have I given the land to possess it. But if you will not drive out the inhabitants of the land as you advance, any whom you let remain shall be as barbed hooks in your eyes, and as thorns in your sides. They shall continually dispute your possession of the land on which you dwell. And what I meant to do to them I will do to you.
Numbers 33; 53-55.

This biblical passage stands as a kind of credo among Israeli settlers, many of whom interpret it in a most literal sense as a divine imperative which justifies any tactics they can dream up to get their hands on Arab land. Thousands of legal complaints concerning over 50 percent of West Bank lands have been filed in local civil courts by Palestinian landowners against Israeli settlers since the settlement drive was initiated by Rabbi Moshe Levinger in 1968.

Over 500 cases have been filed in Nablus central court from the small village of Jinsafut (pop. 2000), east of Nablus, alone. These cases concern illegal acquisition of more than 2000 dunums (over 40 percent of Jinsafut land), principly by a man named Moshe Zar.

Never before during the 18 years of Israeli occupation of the West Bank has one man accumulated so much personal power over villagers in one area. Since he moved to the West Bank in 1977, Zar has earned himself the reputation of being the most prominent Israeli dealer of Arab land, replacing the military authorities who used to confiscate land on the pretext of 'security' and then parcel it out among the settlers. Through roguery and gun power, Zar has managed to expand four Israeli settlements — Emmanuel, Ma'ale Shomron, Yakir and Karnei Shomron — and to get his hands on 2000 Jinsafut dunums and transfer them to Israeli investors and entrepreneurs. His pitiless hostility against local residents has won him the title "Angel of Death." To his comrades in the settler movement, who appointed him *mukhtar* of the three settlements, he is known as the "King of Samaria."

Zar moved to the West Bank a few months after the Likud government came to power in 1977 and relaxed official restraints on the settlement movement in the occupied territories. He took up residence in Karnei Shomron, which was still under construction on a hilltop three miles southeast of Jinsafut. Israeli military officials had confiscated over 50 dunums of Jinsafut land on the pretext of 'security' for that purpose. Zar, a 48-year-old Israeli born to Iranian parents, was hardly known before his involvement in the settler drive. What is known is that he sustained wounds in the 1956 Suez War and later joined the religious Moshav of Nehalin near Petah Tekva, where he first met Rabbi Moshe Levinger.

After he moved to Karnei Shomron in 1977, Zar contacted local Arab *simsars* (land dealers) reputed for their fraudulent land deals and their willingness to do business with Israeli settlers. He also helped establish the Karnei Shomron branch of the Regional Council of Jewish Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza and became its director.

His involvement with Levinger and the settler movement was apparently how Zar became one of the Jewish terror underground. He was recently sentenced to four months in prison for planning and participating in the attempted murder of elected mayor Bassam Shaka'a in 1980. Having spent more than four months in pre-trial detention, Zar was the only member of the underground to go free when the trial ended on July 22.

In his obsessive quest for land, Zar paid large sums of money, said to be supplied by the World Zionist Organisation and channelled through the Settlement Council. According to *The Jerusalem Post* funds are said to have reached *simsars* who would purchase land from villagers either directly or through middlemen and hand it to Zar. Among these *simsars* are Sadeq Baliye of neighbouring Kufr Laqef, Abdullah Mardawi of Habieh, Zakaria Musleh also of Habieh, and others. When landowners — aware of cases of suspicious land deals in other areas in the West Bank — refused to sell, the *simsars* resorted to roguery. Villagers say that *simsars* would approach elderly, senile or disadvantaged landowners and trick them into signing sale documents. In one case, a *simsar* acquired the signature of a blind landowner on a blank piece of paper after he told him the paper was a plea to military authorities to help free his jailed son. The blind man's land was later annexed to the Ma'ale Shomron settlement. *Simsars* also resorted to forging signatures especially in cases where the landowner had died. They also buy land owned by a family from one member and sell it without the consent of the rest of the family. Landowners who are able to fight such swindles resort to civil courts — the Nablus central court in Jinsafut's case. These courts are headed by Arab judges and apply Jordanian laws. But, as shown below, this does not always work.

Zar is not the only Israeli who makes such deals, although his case is notable for its extent and its ugliness. But fraudulent land deals are common fare in the occupied territories, where land is really the core and the essence of the daily struggle for control.

After Karnei Shomron was completed, Zar moved to a nearby hilltop and started constructing what has become the largest personal residence in the whole area, an elaborate five-storey house together with a private driveway leading down to the main road, signs prohibiting journalists from entering and, according to Orit Shohit of *HaAretz*, landmines all around.

When challenged by the landowner, Abd al-Karim Abu Sha'ar, Zar alleged that he had bought the land on which his sprawling mansion sits and presented Abu Sha'ar with a deed of purchase signed by a fellow villager named Subhi Abd al-Razaq, who owns the 65 dunum lot that borders the disputed land. Abu Sha'ar, having been physically removed from the land and threatened by Zar, approached a Nablus lawyer and filed a complaint at the local police station. He also obtained a court injuction that ordered Zar to halt construction, but Zar ignored the order.

The word that Abu Sha'ar had sold land to Israeli settlers eventually reached Amman. Palestinians who sell West Bank land to Israeli settlers are generally put on trial in Amman and sentenced to death *in absentia*. Abu Sha'ar promptly gathered all legal documents proving his ownership of the land and requested a court hearing to clear his name. In court, his lawyer called Moshe Zar to the witness stand and obtained a signed confession that he had bought not Abu Sha'ar's land, but Abd al-Razaq's. Abu Sha'ar then travelled to Amman to clear his name and presented his documents and Zar's confession to Jordanian authorities. He was held for two months while his case was investigated and released.

While Abu Sha'ar was detained in Amman, Zar moved to his land and has lived there ever since. Abd al-Razaq subsequently filed suit against Zar, claiming that he had not sold his 65-dunum lot. He also went to Amman to clear his name, but was not as fortunate as Abu Sha'ar. The Jordanians held him for a full two years while they investigated the affair, until they determined that Zar did actually forge Abd al-Razaq's signature on the title deed. Today, he is not allowed to go near his land, and his case is still pending in the Nablus court.

Since he moved into his fortress above Jinsafut in 1978, Zar has produced over a dozen purchase documents claiming possession of over 2000 Jinsafut dunums. *Al Fajr* spoke to several of the unfortunate landowners and their advocates to reconstruct Zar's tactics, one particularly odious example of the kinds of land confiscations Arabs face daily.

Abu al-Karim Bashir owns a 401-dunum plot adjacent to Abu Sha'ar's land on which Zar built his eyesore home. Last April, as Bashir was working on his lot, two of Zar's sons and three unidentified settlers approached him and physically attempted to remove him from the lot claiming that their father had bought the land. According to lawyer Felicia Langer, when Bashir resisted, they beat him with machinegun butts until he lost consciousness. Bashir awoke a few minutes later and found himself in the back of a moving car, heading towards Karnei Shomron settlement. Once they arrived, he was further abused and, according to Bashir, drugged by "a powerful gas" which caused him to black out again. He woke up several hours later outside the settlement.

The next morning he was summoned to Qalqilya police station, where police informed him that Zar had filed a complaint charging that Bashir had trespassed on Zar's property.

Bashir took the case to the Qalqilya court. Nablus advocate Hussam Fatouh investigated the case on Bashir's behalf and uncovered the source of the fraud. He obtained a copy of the deed of purchase which Zar alleged entitled him to ownership of the 401 dunums. The deed carried a signature alleged to be that of Abd al-Rahim Bashir, Abd al-Karim's deceased brother, who died of natural causes in February 1981. The deed was dated October 19, 1980. Advocate Fatouh discovered that several weeks before October 19, Abd al-Rahim had been interned in the Nablus hospital after suffering a stroke that paralysed the lower half of his body and left him unable to read or write. According to hospital sources he was "out of touch with his surroundings." A further expert analysis of the alleged signature revealed that it was forged. The case is still pending in the Qalqilya court.

A similar ordeal occurred with Odeh Mohammed, who owns a 73-dunum lot which is also located near Zar's fortress. The purchase deed was dated May 11, 1981 and carried a signature alleged to be that of Odeh's brother Abd al-Hafez Mohammed, who teaches at the University of Jordan in Amman and has not visited the area since the late 1970's. Mohammed's case is also still pending. Odeh has not been able to farm his land since then, although it was his main source of income.

The next case involved fraud not only on Zar's behalf but also by Arab land dealers and Israeli military courts. For a period of three years between 1980-1983, two Arab *simsars* named Sadeq Baliye and Mufeed Abu Madaniye approached Abdullah Bashir, who owns 121 dunums in Jinsafut. They offered him a fortune in exchange for his land which he refused, partly because of their known connection with Zar. Having failed to convince him with words and wealth, they resorted to intimidation and made threats on his life.

Towards the end of 1982, Abdullah was approached by a man named Fayez Jaber who offered to sell him a pistol and told him that he was willing to murder the *simsars* in return for JD500 according to statements filed with the local police stations. Abdullah bought the pistol but declined the assassination after. Two months later he was arrested. Based on a written statement from Jaber, he was convicted of possessing a lethal weapon and sentenced to 10 months in jail. The military prosecutor in Abdullah's case was a close associate of Zar's and a resident of Karnei Shomron.

During Abdullah's internment at Nablus central prison, he was repeatedly visited by *simsar* Baliye who alternated between offering money for the land and threatening to liquidate Bashir's family and have his prison sentence extended. Bashir, however, did not budge.

Last April, with only two weeks of his sentence left to serve, Bashir was again summoned to court on recommendation of the same prosecutor and sentenced to two-and-a-half years in prison on charges that in 1983 he conspired to murder the two Arab *simsars*. The court relied on the very same statement that had led to Bashir's first conviction. This outraged Basir's advocate, Felicia Langer, who argued that it was illegal to resentence a man on the basis of evidence heard in his first trial, but to no avail.

The *simsar*, Sadeq Baliye, then filed a request at the Nablus Land Registrar claiming ownership of the 121 dunums. He produced a deed of purchase allegedly signed by Bashir himself. Once again, advocate Hussam Fatouh investigated and discovered with the help of an expert that the signature was forged.

In a more dramatic case, 47-year-old Jinsafut resident Mahmoud Ahmad attacked Zar with a pistol and an axe March 25, 1983, following Zar's repeated intrusions on Ahmad's land near Jinsafut. On several occasions, according to relatives, Zar had visited Mahmoud while he was working in his fields and offered him JD16,000 for the 20-dunum plot. When Ahmad refused, Zar threatened to liquidate him and desecrate his honour. From then on, Ahmad carried a small pistol that he had kept over the years. On March 25, Zar arrived at Ahmad's land and a scuffle broke out. According to Ahmad, Zar was rushing to his car to fetch his rifle when Ahmad shot him in the arm. Zar attacked Ahmad and threw him to the ground. Ahmad then hit Zar once with a small axe he used as a branch trimmer and fled.

A few hours later the police arrived at Ahmad's house and arrested him. They held him for several weeks before he was sentenced to two-and-a-half years in prison, according to court records. According to Ahmad's wife, Hussoun, he was severely tortured in detention, to the point where he started showing signs of schizophrenia and other mental disorders. He faced charges of attempted murder and possession of weapons, which carry a maximum life sentence. But the judge handed down a light sentence because of Ahmad's mental state. Ahmad, who was released last month, is now being treated by psychiatrists and may be placed in the Bethlehem Hospital for the mentally handicapped. His land may have been lost to Zar for a long time to come.

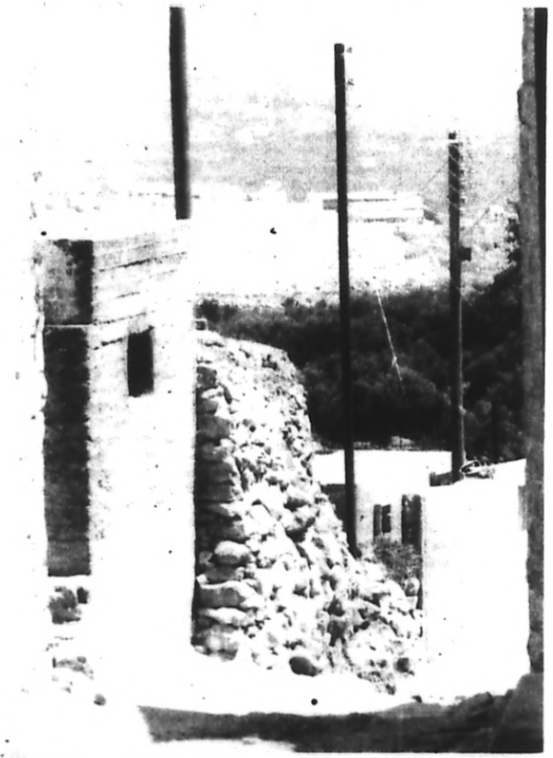
Cases upon cases are flooding the Nablus court and, despite repeated complaints from villagers and their advocates to the military governor of Nablus and the Israeli government, nothing seens to stand in the way of Moshe Zar and his affiliates. The weighty political and military backing the settler movement enjoys from the Israeli establishment makes Zar virtually untouchable. Efforts to stop him legally have run into innumerable delays and snags for a variety of reasons not the least of which is simple, bureaucratic inefficiency and... But several other incidents affecting various aspects of the legal system have also contributed to Zar's virtual legal immunity in particular, and to the snail's pace of legal cases in solving land disputes in general.

Military order 1060, dated June 29, 1983, gave the Israeli military governor of a given West Bank area the authority to transfer cases out of civil courts to a military tribunal or even close them altogether, an authority that only King Hussein of Jordan had prior to 1967. Advocates involved in land fraud cases were horrified by this order, which threatened to render several years of legal work fruitless and leave their clients bitterly defeated.

In December 1984, a large, mysterious fire in the basement of the Nablus Central court destroyed thousands of implacable legal documents and files, among them dozens of land cases involving Jinsafut and Moshe Zar. Police investigations subsequently determined that the cause of the fire was arson, but the perpetrators were never caught. West Bank lawyers publicly accused the settler establishment and claimed that the arson was meant to postpone or even put an end to hundreds of cases involving fraudulent land sales, which it did.

A third development that delayed court hearings on land cases was the arrest and conviction last April of several civil court judges accused of accepting bribes. One of them was Nablus court judge Zuhair Bashtawi. According to local Nablus advocates, everyone — including the Israelis — knew Bashtawi was corrupt for several years. But despite the advocates' repeated complaints, the "authorities awaited the right moment to convict him." They did so with much publicity because, according to one lawyer, the time was ripe politically "to tell the world, in light of the recent peace moves: how can the international community desire autonomy for the Palestinians when their own legal authorities are corruptible? The timing was also right, lawyers say, for the Israeli publicity drive on "Improving the Quality of Life" in the occupied territories. The corruptions scandal, which disillusioned West Bank residents and eroded their confidence in their civil courts, also provided settlers with a valid excuse to take court decisions with utmost irreverence. Another circumstance that works against the hapless landowners is the settlers' extensive connections within the 'civil administration' and the government. This results in a bias on the part of the Israeli authorities that is decisively is the settlers' favour. For example, the Israeli military authorities have placed several prominent settlers in sensitive positions in the 'civil administration' ranks. Both the military prosecutor and the environmental protection officer in the military gover-

Continued on page 13



Jinsafut village, with a view of Emmanuel settlement in the background./BA photo.

Moshe Zar

His pitiless hostility against local residents has won him the title 'Angel of Death.' To settlers he is known as the 'King of Samaria.'

Villagers' view of the 'castle.' Unwanted visitors beware. INSET: a closer look at Moshe Zar's fortress./BA photo.

"On Thursday morning I was stopped by a neighbour of mine who owns a grocery store on our street. 'So what's your opinion?' he asked. [Minister of Education Yitzhak] Navon says that next year the kids will have to go to school in two shifts... He says that there isn't enough money to go around and the Ministry of Education has to pitch in and do its bit.'

" 'Look,' I said, 'last week Israel bombed [Palestinian camps outside] Tripoli. How much do you think those bombs cost? There's money all right, it just depends for what' " (*Zo HaDerech*, July 17, 1985).

I. Invade Now — Pay Later

"Rafael Eitan began his term as army chief-of-staff by... trying to inculcate the troops with the idea of thrift He ended his stint as a member of the trio that led the country into the disaster of the war in Lebanon and an economic crisis whose end is far from being in sight. Even if we grant for a moment that there could have been legitimate reasons for going to war, Israel's precarious economic situation should have been apparent enough to prevent a war from being launched" (Tova Tzimuki, *Davar*, July 27, 1985).

Tzimuki goes on to quote economist Prof. Haim Barkayi, who estimates the cost of the war to be US$4.25 billion.

"According to Prof. Barkayi, the Israeli Ministry of Defence spent over US$2.5 billion of its budget on the war. He estimates the loss of productivity caused by the war during its first year to be approximately US$600-700 million... Barkayi is convinced that the Lebanese war escalated the level of defence spending in relation to the GNP. According to him, after the withdrawal from Sinai, economic policy makers hoped to decrease defence spending. 'That's why one makes peace — to decrease defence expenditures,' he said. But what happened was that the war in Lebanon escalated the level of defence spending" (Tova Tzimuki, *Davar*, July 27, 1985).

The failure of Israeli strategists to consider — let alone foresee — the ramifications the invasion of Lebanon would have on the country's economy is in keeping with the unique form of irrational analysis they bring to bear on questions of national security. Under General Sharon's guidance they only planned 48 hours in advance at a time.

II. Paying for a Policy of Military Aggression

The Israeli defence budget accounts for 40 percent(!) of government spending. But on July 1, when the national unity government cut public spending by US$750 million in the framework of an emergency programme for the stabilisation of the economy, only US$50 million were cut from the defence budget.

Jerusalem Post economic editor Meir Merhav described the programme as follows: "Sanctimonious declarations to the contrary not withstanding, the programme has jettisoned all concern for social justice and for a minimum of equal burden sharing. The entire burden of stabilising the economy — and burden there must be — has been unloaded on the wage earners... The instruments for repressing inflation on the cost side will be supported on the demand side by an erosion of real wages more brutal than any in the country's history, including times of war" (Meir Merhav, *The Jerusalem Post*, July 5, 1985).

Prof. Micha'el Bruno, one of the architects of the programme, has gone on record that the refusal of the government "to cut back on defence spending in the framework of the government's economic programme will result in wage erosion over the next few months being much higher than it need be." Bruno criticised the decision to cut only US$50 million from the defence budget instead of the US$250 million cut the programme called for. (*Al Hamishmar*, July 11, 1985.)

But US$50 million was US$50 million too much for Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He abstained from voting on the programme when it was brought before the cabinet and spent the next two weeks calling down hellfire on anyone who dared suggest his ministry's budget allocations should be cut back further — much further.

"In the history of the Israeli army, there have never been such far-reaching cuts as at present, and never has a minister of defence taken upon himself the security risk than I am taking upon myself," said Rabin... in a speech delivered to a meeting of Takam — the kibbutz movement federation. Rabin said that the most immediate threat to Israel's security came from Syria, which recently enlarged its army. "In June 1982, the Syrian army was comprised of 350,000 soldiers," said Rabin. "Today it is comprised of more than half a million." (*Yediot Aharonot*, July 7, 1985). Monkey see; monkey do.

III. The Neverending Quest for Military Superiority

Writing in *Davar*, military correspondent Tali Zinger pointed out that "the automatic anxiety displayed by Israelis when it comes to the issue of defence clouds many people's judgment." Without a basic change in defence policy, argues Zinger, Israel's economic problems will remain unsolved. Since the state cannot continue to maintain so large an army, the inescapable conclusion is: "There must be a change in the country's defence policy — a change from the present strategy of war to a strategy of peace. Such a shift could moderate the hawkish approach of which Defence Minister Rabin is only one representative" (Tali Zinger, *Davar*, July 12, 1985).

But Rabin and the chorus military Cassandras he conducts will have no truck with the above type of reasoning. Throughout the month of July Rabin sounded a note of impending doom, playing on the nation's fears of a military debacle similar to that of October 1973. (The Lebanon War, of course, is taboo.) Prime Minister Peres also got into the act, terming the demand to decrease the defence budget "irresponsible." A host of hard line generals concurred; Were Israel to lose its edge over the Arab armies, they said, there's no telling what could happen.

The Israeli military establishment wants the public to take it for granted that there is no alternative to the country's warfare state policies. In spite of the fact that Israel's three-year Lebanese experience proved that a modern army doesn't stand a chance against guerrilla resistance, there have been no calls to dismantle the army and build a grassroots militia modelled on that of Lebanon's Shi'ite population in its place.

So much for defence.

IV. With a Little Help from our Friends

HaAretz military correspondent Ze'ev Schiff quotes an unnamed member of the US Congressional subcommittee on the Middle East who told him that US military aid to Israel is growing from year to year. "We've almost lost control of it," Schiff quotes him as saying. Direct US military aid to Israel for 1985 will be US$1.4 billion, all of which will be transferred to Israel in the form of a grant. Next year, the projected amount will probably be even higher — in the vicinity of US$1.8 billion.

"The continued growth of military aid to Israel was discussed during the last meeting of the Committee of Presidents of Jewish Organisations with Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger. One of the representatives asked Weinberger why military aid to Israel was not counted as part of the United States' defence budget in the same manner that allocations to NATO are. Weinberger rejected the idea, saying that he doubted Israel would want the United States to pay the wages of Israeli soldiers" (Ze'ev Schiff, *HaAretz*, July 18, 1985).

Schiff points out that such a move would entail US supervision, something which the Israeli government would not apreciate, not to speak of the threat such an arrangement would hold for Israel if the US ever cut back on its defence spending (and as a result automatically decreased its allocations to Israel).

"From the time the Congressional Subcommittee on Middle East Affairs began hearing testimony 10 months ago until the foreign aid bill was approved last week, Congress has not ceased giving Israel 'everything it wanted.' This includes everything from comprehensive civil and military aid allocations whose net sum is US$3 billion to US$1.5 billion in emergency aid allocations; it also encompasses a restriction on the sale of sophisticated arms to Jordan, a restriction on administration contacts with the PLO, authorisation to participate in American tenders in Third World countries, a free trade agreement that stepped on American toes, and an allocation of funds for the development of the Lavie plane which is to be produced in Israel in direct contravention of foreign aid guidelines applied to every other country" (Zvi Bar'el, *HaAretz*, July 15, 1985). ■

Israeli soldiers receive a military briefing in Lebanon. The three-year-long invasion cost US$4.5 billion.

IN ISRAEL

Economic Cuts Bypass Defence Budget

by Michael Lowry

Popular singer Walid Abd al-Salam sings for an enthusiastic audience at Bir Zeit University in January of 1983./SF photo.

Walid Abd al-Salam

Popularising Palestinian Songs

by Said al-Ghazali

Although he insists that he is neither a musician nor a singer, Walid Abd al-Salam, the coordinator of student activities at Bir Zeit University, has gained a glowing reputation among Palestinian youth in the occupied territories as the popular singer who delivers a political message coated with amusements and pleasures. He sings to spread the ideas of the revolution. "This is sufficient," he said, but a reciprocal relationship between the singer and his listeners is also important. "The singer and the listeners both sing and contribute to the song," he added.

However, some Palestinian musicians who strive for perfection and originality in their compositions criticise Abd al-Salam for his multiple roles as theatrical producer, musician, singer and organiser of activities. Said Murad, a musician and co-founder of the Sabrine group, said Abd al-Salam will never succeed as a singer if he continues with all these activities. "Mass enthusiasm and applause is not the only criterion for success. The way he sings, the harmony, and the blending of lyrics and music must all be considered in the evaluation of his performance," Murad added.

At Bir Zeit, Abd al-Salam founded three groups for theatre, singing and *dabkeh*. He also organised the Bir Zeit Nights Festival in 1984. He is responsible for all student activities at the university.

Abd al-Salam received a BA in acting and production from the Art Academy in Cairo in 1978. After his graduation, he worked on TV series in Jordan and radio broadcasts. Abd al-Salam has participated in dozens of festivals in the occupied territories. He has also sung in Switzerland, England, Bulgaria and Brussels.

Said al-Ghazali interviewed Walid Abd al-Salam for *Al Fajr*.

***

Q: What do you consider your most important contribution to Palestinian music?

A: In addition to my academic studies on theatre, I taught myself to play the *'oud* in 1976. At that time, I thought I would contribute in the realm of musical composition. It is well-known that theatre is a general art including all other genres. I feel closest to theatre, but music comes next. People liked my singing. My style is very simple and my songs are educational but not direct and superficial. However, they must not be complicated.

I composed 20 songs which were distributed in Jordan in 1981 on a cassette entitled *We sing in the streets*. I am now preparing a new cassette called *The Camp's songs*. The new cassette includes 10 new songs written by Mahmoud Darwish, Ibrahim Nasralla, Samih al-Qasem, Samih Faraj and Haji Ali.

Q: Don't you think that being a musician, a singer, an actor and a producer weakens you?

A: I don't consider myself a composer or a singer. Basically, I am a producer. I also have experience in this field. However, I have feelings and enthusiasm to contribute to Palestinian music. In this country, there is no authority to supervise cultural activities. It is difficult for someone who does not have sufficient funding to focus on one aspect of culture alone.

Q: What are your most successful songs?

A: *Eenie, meenie minie, mo; I am without an identity card* is the most successful song because it is simple but also deeply rooted in Palestinian culture. The song conveys the message that Palestinians have strong loyalty to their land, yet they have no identity card. This also true of the song, *We went into the streets:*

We went into the streets
We raised the banners
We sang for the country
The most beautiful songs
The songs of freedom
of national unity
of popular war — the road leading to victory.

I also sang some songs which do not evoke a response immediately, only after the listener hears them several times. For instance, *The Land*, a poem by Mahmoud Darwish:

I name the soil an extension of my soul
I name my hand a pavement of wounds
I name the pebbles wings
I name birds almonds and figs
I name my ribs trees
I draw from the fig tree of the chest
a branch and throw it like a stone
And blow up the occupier's tank.

I don't usually sing this song at popular festivals, because it needs an atmosphere of comprehension.

Q: Don't you think that your role as a singer is to teach people how to listen and enjoy the song?

A: I am interested in singing songs which people would like after they hear them several times. I am also concerned with raising the artistic level of enjoyment above immediate response to the level of aesthetic awareness.

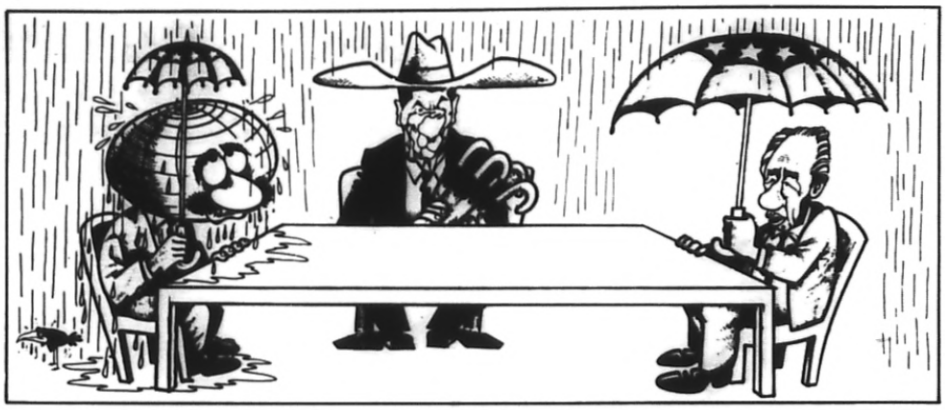
Q: Can you tell us something about your listeners?

A: My listeners are mostly intellectuals and young people because they are always at the public meetings and festivals in public institutions and refugee camps. I usually do not reach families, except sometimes through cassettes. This is part of my plan but I always run up against financial difficulties. Every cassette costs at least JD500 to make. Then I have to wait for one or two years to sell them. That's why I don't produce much. The toughest obstacle I encounter is finding suitable lyrics. Poets do not write songs because the national song is still a new genre for us.

Q: Can you elaborate on the meaning of 'national song'?

A: The Palestinian national song has no roots in our culture like *dabkeh* dancing does. However, it is the most effective genre, it is easy to spread, and it doesn't require much effort like plays do. It is also mostly an individualistic production. We have some singers who have developed their own unique style, like Mustafa al-Kurd, George Qurmoz, Ahmad Qabour, the Sabrine group, and the Palestinian Folklore Renovation in Nazareth. The Palestinian national song presents an alternative to all the silly songs that are broadcasted from Arab TVs and radios day and night. The national song is essential for Palestinians in the occupied territories. However, the style and lyrics of the national song have a long way to go. We need a song which reflects the general Palestinian mood. We cannot achieve this unless we use motifs, ideas and words from our folklore. What song can we sing in front of 5000 people who would all know it? You will not find one. *Ta'ta' ta'ieh, Maindi hawieh* (I have no identity card) is the most popular song which is spread everywhere, here and abroad. Some Arab singers go to America to sing *Dalouna* which stirs something deep in the hearts of Arab listeners so they respond with great enjoyment. Only people who deeply understand the heritage can write such songs. Palestinian composers must therefore use folklore tales, music and popular games in their songs. It is also the poet's duty to write stirring words that draw on our heritage, and the researcher's duty to collect the folklore and publicise it. ■

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The unbridled Israeli reaction to the killing of two Israeli teachers was the concern of all the Palestinian press this week. Local papers reported extensively on the riot that took place in Afula when the bodies were found. The Palestinian press also gave prominent coverage to the violent actions that followed including the disappearance of two Arab youths and the subsequent discovery of their bodies. The fatal shooting of an Israeli army employee in Nablus and the curfew clamped on the West Bank's largest city also received front page coverage.

Other items covered in the local press include anti-Arab incitement on the part of settlers and Israeli officials, the discovery of four Palestinian corpses in Lebanon and the Moroccan King's call for an emergency Arab summit.

The Hospice will Remain Despite the Closure

It is known that the new Nablus Central prison "Jneid,' was a hospital before 1967, like many other hospitals in the occupied territories. These hospitals were converted to serve other purposes by the Israelis. The Hospice hospital is facing the same fate. Despite all offers by the friends of the hospital to develop it, the Israeli Ministry of Health went ahead with its decision to shut it down.

Through their all-out strike, Jerusalemites asserted their determination to keep the hospital open to serve them. If the Israeli Ministry of Health goes ahead and insists on closing down the hospital, it will have taken another step to implement its plan to change the features of the Old City of Jerusalem.

AL FAJR
July 25

Watchfulness... for Conspiracies!

Those who think that the Jordanian-Palestinian move aims only at securing US recognition of the PLO, should contemplate a number of realities. In addition to the new American conditions, the crossing out of names, and meeting with some nominees, we should look at what is going on in the West Bank and Gaza. The 'behaviour' there indicates that the next step is following — direct negotiations without even the slogan of 'Land for Peace' and with or without the PLO.

There is no other explanation for the work paper of the Committee for Supporting the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement. This committee is clearly trying to exploit the differences in the Arab ranks.

The incidents that took place in some villages indicate that there is full coordination and planning with certain circles. Some Israeli journalists expect a situation in the occupied territories far worse than that which prevailed in the 1930s. But our people are watchful and will not be deceived.

AL TALI'A
July 25

The USSR and Israel

The Soviet-Israeli meeting last week and the statements made by officials of these two countries may have something to do with the Amman agreement. Israel has so far refused to give the Soviet Union any role in the settlement plans, as it refused to give the PLO any role also. But it left the door open for them if they show 'positive attitudes.' The Soviet leadership has finally realised that it has to maintain a balanced relationship with all parties. There is no need to say that the readiness of the Soviet leadership to adjust its approach to the peace process will embarrass some circles in Israel or even in the government itself. Otherwise how could we explain the leakage of information about the Soviet-Israeli meeting? Anyway, these Israeli circles have managed to thwart the Soviet attempt to share the responsibility for maintaining world peace.

AL QUDS
July 26

On Murphy's Statements

Richard Murphy admitted two days ago that American pressures over the years have failed to cause the PLO to surrender to the American conditions.

He denied that the PLO expressed readiness to accept 242 and 338. Murphy also mentioned some American conditions for conducting dialogue with the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. These conditions contradict the Palestinian understanding and vision of this dialogue.

The Palestinians contend that any dialogue should be based on national invariables. Therefore Murphy's statement constitutes a reply to those who accuse the PLO, and it also enhances the American anti-Palestinian attitude. It emphasises what the PLO leaders have said recently... they have no illusions about the US stand. America will remain as it is.

AL SHA'AB
July 27

From the Bottom ... to the Top

The conditions of the Arab nation herald extremely grave developments and terrible changes that would lead to more disasters and retreat. Things have reached the brink and inter-Arab relations are at the lowest point. The Jordanian-Syrian relations are no good and it is not strange if a state of military alertness is declared on the borders of both countries. So are the Syrian-Iraqi and the Libyan-Tunisian and the Algerian-Moroccan relations. Things will not stop at this point. A day may come when an Arab will face another Arab in battle and war.

The Arab nation has failed in dealing with the Lebanese crisis, and in stopping Palestinian bloodshed and putting an end to the Iran-Iraq war and solving the Western Sahara crisis. Economically the Arabs have failed to exploit their wealth. Despite all this, the Arab leaders failed over the period of three years to hold an Arab summit.

We do not know what justifications may be given for not holding an Arab summit. Still we say that an Arab summit is necessary under the present circumstances. We are sure also that the Arab summit would not lead to the liberation or stopping the slaughters of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Yet we believe that an Arab summit may ease the tension.

AL QUDS
July 29

The Coming Summit ?

In view of the developments regarding the liquidation solutions adopted by Arab reactionaries and the Palestinian Right, there was a need for an official Arab cover to enable this process to go ahead. Out of this came the call of King Hassan II for a summit meeting, which aims above all else at liquidating the Palestinian cause. However, the masses of our people who rejected the Amman agreement will be able to thwart the Arab summit.

AL MITHAQ
July 30

Syria is Not Deceiving Anyone

Walid Jumblatt and Nabih Berri have agreed to form the so-called Lebanese National Alliance. Jumblatt declared that his forces would join Amal in all its future battles, referring to the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. The same day, Syria gave Amal 50 tanks which went straight to the remaining camps in Beirut for a siege. It has become clear that the Lebanese militias are about to launch a military campaign against the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. No doubt the coming battles will be more vicious. The refugees everywhere in Lebanon will be the target.

Very soon it will be the turn of those Palestinians who placed themselves under Syria's banner. We wonder how long will these Palestinians be deceived by Syria's false slogans.

AL QUDS
July 31

Before it is Too Late!

For the first time the call for Arab solidarity seems to be a call for Arab division instead. And for the first time also 'the very progressive Arab regimes' call for thwarting an Arab summit. And for the first time those who urge a national solution to Arab contradictions become reactionary and surrender to the US and its allies. But how could this happen?

It is not difficult to see that the Syrian regime stands behind all this dangerous confusion in the Arab area. This regime has drawn for itself an approach that runs counter to the Arab line. Since the Arab summit will discuss Arab causes, the Syrian regime stands against it. Therefore it has become necessary for Arab regimes not to cover the Syrian approach. Some Arab regimes that are still interested in minimum Arab solidarity are required to pressure the Syrian regime to prevent it from hindering the Arab summit.

AL FAJR
July 31

Ali Ghazi Taleb

Suicide Attack in South Lebanon

A suicide car bomb attack, the third one this month, was carried out July 31 against an Israeli patrol near the village of Arnon in the South Lebanese Army (SLA) controlled 'security zone'. A statement issued in Beirut by the National Syrian Social Party which operates in Lebanon, said the attack was executed by one of its members, Ali Ghazi Taleb, 22, from the village of Akar in northern Lebanon. At least 6 soldiers were killed and 19 others injured.

An Israeli military spokesperson, however, acknowledged that only 2 Israelis were injured and 4 Lebanese civilians killed. The spokesperson indicated that an Israeli military patrol spotted the car at a distance of 15 metres and ordered the driver to stop. He, however, continued and the car exploded.

Two other car bomb operations were executed on July 9 in the villages of Biada and Hasbia within the 'security zone,' resulting in 17 dead and 8 wounded. In a similar attack two SLA soldiers were wounded on Wednesday July 31, in a fire fight with the resistance at a roadblock near Bint Jbail. Furthermore, two Katyusha rockets were fired towards Israeli settlements in the Galilee panhandle July 28.

Israeli war planes attacked a Palestinian military base in the Bar Elias region in the Beka'a valley in Lebanon July 29. In the Beirut and Sidon areas the bodies of at least 26 Palestinians were discovered last week.

The air raid occurred shortly before 7:00 am and was directed against one floor of a building containing the offices of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. Palestinian sources in Lebanon said that the air raid did not result in any casualties since the building was empty at the time.

In Damascus, however, Syrian sources claimed the raid resulted in the killing of a number of civilians. In Beirut, the bodies of four Palestinians were discovered near Ein al-Hilweh refugee camp. Twenty-two other bodies were discovered near Sidon. The Fatah movement accused Amal and the Lebanese Army Sixth Brigade of perpetrating the massacres. The Palestinian National Salvation Front also condemned the massacres.

Hospice

Continued from page 1

by the Austrian Church was too small to run effectively and would be turned into an emergency outpatient clinic for patient referrals to Israeli hospitals.

The Hospice Friends Committee held a press conference July 30. Palestinian and Israeli speakers refuted the Israeli Health Ministry's claims about economic cutbacks and low health standards at the hospital. The speakers included Dr. Ahmad Muhtadi, the hospital director, Sama'an Khouri, a member of the Hospice Friends Committee, Rami Amit, representative of the Israeli Committee to Defend Hospice hospital, and Shlomo Ben Yona representing Israeli progressive forces in Israel.

Muhtadi explained the psychological difficulties that Palestinian patients would encounter in Israeli hospitals. Ben Yona laid the blame for low health standards at Hospice on the Israeli Health Ministry for its many cutbacks in funds, beds, and facilities at Hospice.

The Austrian ambassador to Israel handed a protest letter to Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir one day after the closure. The letter said: "The Austrian government was shocked by this measure which severs political rights." David Kimche, general director of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, refused to accept the letter and described the protest of the Austrian government, whose Catholic Austrian Church owns the Hospice building, as 'interference in internal Israeli affairs."

Taher al-Masri the Jordanian Foreign Minister, also sent letters to various world organisations and to the UN Secretary-General demanding an immediate intervention to force the Israeli government to rescind the closure.

The US government delicately expressed hope that the Hospice closure will not be final. "The fate of the hospital is still under discussion," said Charley Readman, spokesperson for the US State Department.

Afula

Continued from page 1

derpolice soldiers stood waiting on the sidewalk. Foreign journalists were turned back at the police headquarters by officers who refused to comment on the violence. Later in the afternoon, movement started to pick up and patrols were reinforced.

The city hospital looked normal. A handful of plain-clothed secret service men at the reception desk would not give out information on the number of injured. A foreign journalist who spent nearly an hour trying to get details for a story commented that the only thing people were ready to talk about was the murder of the two teachers. "Who committed it?" he asked. He got the same quick reply everywhere: "Palestinians, of course."

An old Arab worker, from the village of Sulam who was visiting a patient agreed that Arabs were subject to severe intimidation from Afula residents. He predicted more anti-Arab violence would erupt the next day when the two teachers' funerals were scheduled. "It would be advisable to stay home. I won't come back tomorrow," he said.

The Israeli authorities announced that three Arab youths from the village of Arbouna in the Jenin district were earlier arrested and charged with the killing. The three teenagers, Othman Abdullah Abu Hassan, Nasser Jamal Abu Hassan and Haza' al-Sa'adi allegedly confessed and reenacted the operation. Two of the suspects allegedly stole two carbines from the nearby Israeli moshav of Nurit two months ago.

Israeli police sources indicated that the three youths were not members of any Palestinian organisation, but rather acted on their own.

According to police investigators the killing occurred after a provocative encounter between the couple and two of the youths who were said to have been hunting rabbits in the area when they saw an Audi car parked in the wilderness. The two teachers who were in the car ordered the youths to leave and threatened them with a pistol. The youths then went to bring the weapon and a third youth. When they returned, they allegedly shot the man in the back and then strangled the woman after she started to scream.

Sunday July 28, thousands of Jews came to the funerals of the two teachers, one in Afula and the other in the nearby town of Hadera. Journalists were a popular target for mob attacks, so much so that Israel TV was unable to get footage of the Hadera funeral. A crowd gathered outside the Afula police station trying to get the name of the three suspects' village to take revenge.

At dawn on Sunday July 28, the village of Arbouna was cordoned off and the houses of the three youths were demolished. The families were reportedly given very little time to evacuate their belongings.

The Israelis consistently demolish the family houses of Palestinians who are suspected of committing military operations even before they are taken to court. The demolition is usually justified by the 1945 British Emergency Regulations which still apply in the occupied territories and Israel. These measures, however, violate international law, which prohibits the occupying power from carrying out such punishments.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), submitted a proposal to the Knesset to discuss the racist incitement against Arabs in Afula.

The Regional Committee of Arab Local Council Heads in Israel also denounced the acts of murder by all sides. "Arabs are not responsible for such acts and we are not hostages in the state," said Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, head of the committee.

Czar

Continued from page 8&9

norate of the northern area are settlers. The former often deals with settler accusations that villagers attacked them and Arab land dealers connected to Moshe Zar or Israeli real estate companies. He is a resident of Elon Moreh settlement near Nablus. The latter is in charge of designating land as agricultural or residential, hence directly responsible for the expansion of settlements and the decreasing of size of Arab farm lands. He is a resident of Karnei Shomron the settlement Zar built, which overlooks Jinsafut.

The 'civil administration's' bias towards settlers is also clear from zoning laws. An Arab, declares one law, cannot build a structure for the purpose of residency within 150 metres from the centre of a main road. This law, however, does not apply to Israeli settlers. Another law defines agriculture land only as land that has been previously farmed. Fallow land that is potentially arable does not qualify. Many farmers, therefore, can not cultivate hundreds of previously idle dunums. As with the zoning regulation, settlers are not bound by this law.

Moshe Indor, an activist in Gush Emunim who is closely affiliated with former Defence Minister Ariel Sharon and former Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan, was last year quoted as saying that prominent military and political figures in Israel made it clear to him that the settlers "should take steps that a democratic state cannot take. The only thing the settlers do wrong is to get caught," they reportedly told him.

Moshe Zar reportedly hosted Sharon and Israeli Agriculture Minister Aryeh Nehamkin in his palatial fortress on several occasions. His friendships with these two men and other top officials only boosts his influence on Israeli military and police authorities in the area.

The top-level political backing the settlement drive enjoys thus increases fears among local Arab residents who are literally left with no viable recourse for redressing such swindles or for finding other ways to make a living after their land has been swiped. Ironically and most tragically, many have no choice but to return to their land — as construction workers building Israeli settlements. ■

Husoun, wife of Ahmad, and children: What will Zar do next?/BA photo.

WEEKLY REVIEW

A conference held at the American Colony Hotel condemning the closure of the Old City Hospice Hospital July 30./AO photo.

July 21, 1985

MOSCOBIYEH PRISONERS ON HUNGER-STRIKE

Around 40 Palestinian political prisoners held at the Jerusalem Russian Compound police station (Moscobiyeh) declared an open hunger strike. They issued a statement explaining harsh conditions in the lockup and announcing the start of "struggling measures" to force prison authorities to comply with their demands. The prisoners are demanding more time for the daily walk in the prison yard, improved health conditions, an end to police provocations and permission to bring in newspapers and books.

July 24, 1985

GREEN PATROL SEIZES GOLAN GOATS

The Israeli 'Green Patrol' confiscated 300 goats belonging to Jamil Nayef Mir'i, a resident of the Golan village of Mas'adah. The goats were the sole source of income for Mir'i's family.

UNRWA ASKED TO RESTORE RATIONS

The Committee to Defend the Camps of Jalazon, Qalandya, al-Am'ari, Deir Ammar and Shu'fat has urged UNRWA to supply food rations immediately to needy families in Shu'fat and Jalazon. The committee charged that UNRWA "was attempting to create incorrect justifications for not providing the refugees with food rations... in the context of the liquidationist conspiracy against Palestinian refugees in the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

GAZA GRADUATES PREVENTED FROM LEAVING

Israeli military authorities have stopped university graduates from the Gaza Strip from travelling to Jordan to seek jobs unless they have met with military officials beforehand.

July 25, 1985

HEBRON UNIVERSITY ASSAULT REMEMBERED

Today marks the second anniversary of the assault on Hebron's Islamic University by Jewish terrorists. Three students — Jamal Nazzal, Samih Abu Baker and Sa'ad al-Din Sabri — were killed in the grenade and automatic gunfire attack, and 42 others were injured.

The Islamic University Student Council held a memorial ceremony on campus for the three martyrs. Wreaths were laid on a monument erected on campus for the victims.

Sa'eb al-Nather, head of the Association of Unions in Hebron, gives a certificate to a literacy course graduate./AO photo.

HOME SLATED FOR DEMO

The Israeli military authorities notified Mohammed Abdallah Ilayan, a resident of Nabi Samuel village north of Jerusalem, of their decision to demolish the shack in which he has been living with his wife and 12 children. Ilayan says for more than 18 years the 12-dunum plot surrounding his house has been targeted.

Eight months ago, Israeli settlers from Ramot put up a barbed wire fence around the land, but Ilayan removed the wires.

PETROL BOMB, STONES AT ISRAELI BUSES

A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli bus as it passed in the village of Aizariya east of Jerusalem, Israel Radio reported. No injuries or damages were reported.

In another incident, an Israeli bus was stoned as it passed the Jalazon refugee camp in the Ramallah area. One passenger was wounded when a stone smashed a window.

CALL FOR BACKING HOSPICE

The Hospice Friends Committee called upon all patients to head for the Hospice hospital in the Old City of Jerusalem which is still open to the public. The Committee emphasised the importance of rallying around the Hospice and continuing the sit-in strike to protest the Israeli Health Ministry's decision to close it down.

YATTA MUKHTAR SHOT

Unidentified gunmen shot and critically wounded the *mukhtar* of Yatta village in the Hebron area, Israel TV reported.

UNIONIST JAILED

An Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Wa'el Zaki Sharim, a unionist from Jerusalem, to 1.5 years in prison and 9 months suspended on security charges.

July 26, 1985

SETTLERS TRY TO STORM JALAZON

Israeli settlers attempted to storm Jalazon refugee camp near Ramallah following a stone-attack on an Israeli bus. Army troops prevented the settlers from entering the camp and announced a curfew on the area.

GRENADE IN GAZA

A hand grenade was tossed at an Israeli military vehicle as it drove through the streets of Gaza City. No injuries or damages were reported. Troops cordoned off the area and detained scores of people who happened to be in the vicinity.

CURFEW LIFTED

Israeli army troops lifted a curfew imposed on the refugee camp of Ein al-Ma'a in the Nablus district July 25 after an Israeli bus was firebombed. During the curfew, soldiers raided a number of houses in the camp and detained youths for questioning.

GHAZI HAWAMESH, 48

Palestinian artist and film producer Ghazi Abdel Latif Hawamesh, who for many years has been living in Turkey, died last weekend after a prolonged illness. He was 48.

Hawamesh, who was born in the West Bank city of Nablus, was buried in Jordan.

July 28, 1985

BOMB DEFUSED IN JERUSALEM

Israeli police sappers safely dismantled a large bomb found last night in the al-Malha neighbourhood in West Jerusalem. Israel Radio reported no arrests.

July 27, 1985

VILLAGE LEAGUES FIREBOMBED

A petrol bomb was thrown at the offices of the Israeli-backed Village Leagues in Jenin. The Hebrew daily *HaAretz* said no one was hurt.

SURIF YOUTH ATTACKED

Mohammed Isma'il al-Malaikah, 23, a third-year student at Hebron's Islamic University, was attacked by Israelis July 19 on his way home from work in Ramle to the village of Surif in the Hebron area. The Israelis hurled 2 firebombs at Malaikah, who was injured in the right hand and hospitalised.

Malaikah underwent emergency surgery. He said that when he filed a complaint with the police against his attackers, a police officer called him a "liar and drunkard."

July 29, 1985

ARMY VEHICLES UNDER FIRE IN GAZA

Two Israeli military vehicles came under grenade and gunfire attack on the road leading to Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. The soldiers exchanged fire with the attackers for nearly half an hour. A large force of army troops dispatched to the area began a search for the attackers, who apparently managed to escape.

YATTA YOUTH SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Bassam Mohammed Abd al-Munem Abu Ali, 17, from Yatta village in the Hebron district, to 5 months in prison and 3 months suspended on security charges.

STUDENT MEETING

The Youth Movement at Najah University in Nablus organised a student meeting on campus in solidarity with Najah students who have been placed under town arrest by Israeli military authorities.

TRAVEL BAN LIFTED

The Israeli authorities lifted a travel ban on residents of the West Bank town of Jenin who are over 35 years old. The ban on travel to Jordan was imposed a week ago.

SENTENCED FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Arafat Abdallah Hassan of al-Bireh to 2 years jail and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and stone-throwing. The court also sentenced Issa Mohammed Abu Kamel, of Bethlehem, to 2.5 years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on identical charges.

BOMB FOUND IN JERUSALEM

A bomb was discovered south of Jerusalem and police sappers managed to defuse it safely, Israel Radio reported. No other details were given.

July 30, 1985

BOMB EXPLODES IN GAZA STRIP

An explosives device went off near the Neve Dekalim settlement in the Gaza Strip, Israeli military sources said. They said the blast caused heavy damage to a building, but no one was hurt.

MOLOTOV

A molotov cocktail was hurled at an Israeli military vehicle as it passed near the Suheilah building east of Gaza. Troops sealed off the area and detained 7 Arab youths for questioning. No damages or injuries were reported.

Children enjoying outdoor summer activities held by *Sirriyet Beit al-Maqdes* in Jerusalem./AO photo.

The demolished house of a Jenin resident who was accused of killing the two teachers from Afula.

Local Palestinians

Continued from page 7

talks because the price — giving up our identity and independent state — is too expensive."

"In any talks," she adds, "I would prefer an independent delegation for the Palestinian people. I am not against any Arab country, but for 35 years the Arab regimes have been speaking for us, and that's enough. Only our strength can get the case out of stagnation, not kneeling in front of the White House."

Views of the US

Hostility to American policy is deeply rooted in Palestinian society. The Palestinian people sees all the disasters inflicted on it as cursed fruits of unlimited US support to Israel, so it is very difficult for those who advocate an American solution to market it among Palestinians. If this is the case, then what are the real chances of success for the expected talks with the US Administration? What price do the Palestinians have to pay in return for any American support of their rights?

In an interview published in the Arabic daily *Al Mawqif*, Ziad Abu Zayyad, a Jerusalem lawyer, indicated that the US is still persisting in its traditional aggressive stand against the Palestinians, part of its opposition to international liberation movements in general, but "the military or political leadership has the right to assess the circumstances and decide what it deems appropriate." Abu Zayyad thinks that holding talks with the US is not an aim in itself, because "American recognition of the PLO without a radical change in the American policy towards our people and its right to self-determination does not mean anything."

"The only way to talk to the US," al-Radwan comments, "is with the gun as Arafat formerly declared."

Bassam Shaka'a, elected mayor of Nablus, believes that the present balance of forces in the area at present favours the US. The PLO's approach to the US entails a departure from its identity and national and progressive relations, which, he fears, will mean giving up all achievements that won the PLO international recognition. "All steps stemming from a wrong principle — the Amman agreement — are wrong," he comments.

Jonathan Kuttab, a young Jerusalemite lawyer educated in the US, thinks that the Palestinians should be flexible enough to talk to all international sides while sticking to their basic principles. This gives the leadership space to manoeuvre, he says.

Those who support the present political direction — coordination with Jordan and talks with the US — have a hard time convincing people that it will really achieve concrete results. Erakat, who feels that the timing is not appropriate for such talks, thinks that the Palestinians should still go ahead with them, despite the fact that "the US is using the Palestinian splits and differences to camouflage its real policy, which is the policy of stalemate and no solution." There is a limit, however, to his willingness to talk: "If the US insists on PLO recognition of resolution 242, then we should not engage in dialogue."

Natsheh stands on similar ground, but he believes that the way to convince the US to change its stand towards the Arabs is by ensuring that this region "will not fall under Soviet hegemony, and that petrol will be secured to the West for ever. Let us try [the diplomatic path]," he says, "If we get anything, OK. If not, we will say *salaam alikum*, and at least we will have shown the world which wanted us to try peaceful solutions that we are ready to do so."

But is there still any room left for experiments after more than half a century of struggle, and will it be possible to maintain the basic principles through such an experiment? Tayseer Arari, professor of physics at Bir Zeit University, says that forming a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation means without a doubt that the right of the PLO as sole representative of the Palestinian people will be lost, and replaced by a dual representation, shared between the Jordanian regime and the PLO. Arari feels that the Palestinians in the delegation would, in fact, represent a point of view closer to Jordan than to the PLO, a situation which will effectively convert the dual representation back into a single one — the Jordanian.

Palestinian Unity

As the political developments in the area rapidly unfold, Palestinian unity is becoming more remote. All parties believe unity is most essential, but they differ on the best way to achieve it.

Many who oppose the current political alliance with Jordan see the Aden-Algiers accord signed by Fatah and the Democratic Alliance in 1983 and the 16th PNC session resolutions as a good basis to start talks on restoring unity. But the prerequisite for such talks, they say, is that the Amman agreement be cancelled, and the joint delegation dissolved.

Natsheh recalls that intra-Palestinian differences are not new; they existed long before the Amman agreement. Gheth, on the other hand, has lost hope in the possibility of reuniting the factions. "Even if the right-wing [Arafat] leadership retreated from its present stand, it is no longer fit to lead our people," he says, "because of the historic precedent it committed by bargaining Palestinian rights."

Now that the Palestinian struggle is at a dangerous curve, it is well-justified to ask, what next? Will the disputed political approach change the American attitude towards the Palestinian problem and would that convince Israel to recognise the rights of the Palestinian people? If not, would there still be a chance to abandon this approach and maintain the basic principles and achievements? And would there still be room then to unify the forces of the people again around one commonly agreed-upon plan? Or have these developments already reached the point of no return? ■

Kawkab Cultural Club Marks First Anniversary

The cultural club in Kawkab: *Helping youngsters to spend their free time constructively.*

by Manar Awad

On July 30, the cultural club in the Galilee village of Kawkab (pop. 2000) will mark its one-year anniversary. The cultural club, the first of its kind, has flourished despite financial and other difficulties. It has been more successful than its founders expected.

Situated in the heart of Kawkab, the club's external appearance is not charming; it is only an old, three-room house. But the role which the club has played among the local community has made it very popular among Kawkab's youth. Teaching aid courses, sports activities and lectures on different topics are the main activities which the club has initiated.

Toward the end of the 1983, a number of young people from the village — including university students, graduates and enlightened workers — set up an education committee. The purpose of the committee was to enhance the social and educational level of the population, especially the young generation. The committee decided that this objective could not be achieved unless they opened a club in the village. The committee's top priority became the establishment of a cultural club, and accordingly, they started a long-term fund-raising campaign.

Countering Cultural Deprivation

The club's coordinator explained to *Al Fajr* the circumstances which motivated the committee. "Our initiative," he said, "was motivated by the need to encounter the lack of minimal cultural activities among the village people in general and the youth in particular resulting from the discriminatory and racist Israeli polity." He pointed out that the Israelis had refused to open a Histadrut-cultural club in the village without any reason. The village first requested permission to start a Histadrut club in 1977. Every Arab village in Israel has the right to a Histadrut club, because most of the Arab workers pay fees to the Histadrut, but more than 70 percent of Arab villages have no such clubs.

It was only on the eve of elections in 1984 that the Histadrut opened a club in Kawkab, a step the villagers viewed as election propoganda and an attempt to absorb the public anger which had begun to be expressed in protest letters to the government and in media attention. A year later, the villagers still see the Histadrut club in the same way. "It has done nothing for us," said a Kawkab youngster. He added, "Most of the time it is closed."

Even a local council did not exist in Kawkab until shortly before the elections. It was set up in July 1984 and started to function three months later. "This also added to the difficulties facing the village in general and the youth in particular," said Hussein Qassim, a member of the club's administrative board. He elaborated saying that there was no local authority or any other body to take care of the youth "who didn't have any place to spend their free time. They were always walking around in the village."

From Football to Physics

The education committee didn't wait until the club opened to start its activities. After the initial donations were raised, the committee sponsored a campaign to educate people for the project and simultaneously initiated courses in teaching, English, physics and maths using the village school. They also held lectures on various topics, including the political situation of the Palestinian people in general and the Palestinians in Israel.

The English course was the most successful. A British volunteer organised it and taught more than 80 students from different grades. But after two months the Israeli Ministry of Education ordered the school principal not to allow the committee to use the school. No reason for the order was given. "We believe," said Omar Issat, a member of the club's administrative board, "that this measure was politically motivated." He added that the Israelis simply don't want any independent bodies which "work for the real interests of our people."

The ministry's measure didn't dampen the determination of the committee members. The courses were moved to private houses, despite the difficulties involved. This situation lasted about two months when a family volunteered to put a large room at the disposal of the committee until the courses were over.

In July 1984, the committee was able to open a club, financed by donations and membership fees. Intensive activities began in September 1984. Among these activities are a second eight-month English course for 73 students, three-month courses in physics and maths for 28 students, an accounting course for 10 students, *dabkeh* classes, and a Karate course for 26 students. The club also organised a football team and held lectures on various topics aimed at raising the national and political consciousness of the villagers. The committee also set up a small public library, the first in Kawkab's history. The library now has 430 books, a considerable number of which are for children.

The club also has organised mutual visits with other independent cultural clubs in a number of Palestinian villages. Omar Issat told *Al Fajr* that the latest visit the club organised was to the Golan Heights. The visit took place on June 23 at the invitation of *al-Talia'a* club in Majdal Shams where football games and other cultural activities were organised. Kawkab club delegation of 73 listened to a briefing by the head of *al-Talia'a* club on the struggle of the Arab population of the occupied Golan Heights against the imposition of Israeli IDs. The coordinator of Kawkab's club told *Al Fajr*: "This important visit, which fostered relations and cooperation between the two clubs, reflected the success of the Kawkab club in rallying people around it."

The club recently sponsored a sports day in which different sports teams from a number of Palestinian villages participated.

Kawkab Appreciative

Without the financial and moral support of the villagers, especially the youth, the club could not have achieved such success. Support for the club has grown at the same pace as its activities. Abu Ghasi, a truck driver, 45, told *Al Fajr*: "It is very clear that since the club opened, the youth have become more involved and dynamic." He added that he believes the club has raised consciousness and reinforced relations among the youth.

A Kawkab youngster told *Al Fajr*: "The club has given us the opportunity to practice our hobbies and spend our free time constructively." Like others, the youth suggested that a larger place for the club be found and its activities expanded "so that it can absorb the growing number of people who want to get involved and ensure continued progress."

In response to this note, the club's coordinator told *Al Fajr*: "This is certainly true, but it is not easy to achieve." He added that although the board is continuously working to develop the club, this requires a lot of money which is not so easy to raise, especially in view of the worsening economic situation in the country. ■